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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

APRIL, 1807.

No XIX.

ART. I. *The Dangers of the Country.* By the Author of War in Disguise, &c. 8vo. pp. 227. Hatchard, London, 1807.

WE agree with the greater part of this boding volume; and we think the author has discharged a great public duty, in endeavouring to impress the country with a sense of its dangers, and to train us to that sort of fortitude which consists, not in shutting our eyes to the hazard, but in providing steadily against it.

After passing rather too slightly over the extent of our danger from the military power of France, and the risk of an actual subjugation, he proceeds to detail, under ten several heads, the consequences which would follow from such a calamitous occurrence. To the few who have allowed themselves to reflect on the subject, such an enumeration must be useless; but it may startle the thoughtless, and rouse the multitude from their dream of apathy, thus to see these menaced evils embodied and spread out before them, which they have hitherto apprehended only as a remote and indistinct possibility. If great sacrifices, too, and great exertion should become necessary, as we greatly fear they may, in the prosecution of the contest, it is of use to keep before us the amount of the miseries from which we are purchasing redemption.

The author does not dwell at all upon the horrors of the conquest itself, nor on the proscriptions and confiscations with which it would infallibly be attended. He supposes this great work to be finally consummated; and merely sets himself to estimate the changes which would be produced in the condition of the surviving population.

The first would be, the transference of our sceptre to the hands of some creature of the conqueror, or the total suppres-

sion of our independence, by our conversion into a province or department of his empire. The author thinks the last most probable; as our insular situation, maritime habits and untractable character, might otherwise give us a chance for recovering our freedom, and converting a nominal into a real independence. In either event, he rightly concludes, that our free constitution would be annihilated. It is this freedom, more than our commercial prosperity or our national influence, which excites the alarm and jealousy of our enemy: it exhales a vapour unhealthful to the constitution of despotism; and while England is free, the master of France must be uneasy. We might still have Parliaments, however, and mock elections; but we may guess at the measure of power which would be left to those assemblies, from that which we have seen entrusted to the senates of France or of Holland.

The consequences of conquest, however, would first come home to individuals, in the destruction of our laws and personal privileges. No one can be extravagant enough to imagine that a French government would allow a *habeas corpus*, a jury, or a gaol-delivery to its English subjects. We cannot hope for more than it indulges to its own people. The liberty of the press in France, too, may safely be taken as the measure of what it would be in England; and in comparison with the tyranny now exercised there, in this respect, the policy of the Inquisition, the Sorbonne and the Bourbons, was perfect freedom. Their interference was restrictive or prohibitory merely; but the present governor of France compels its journalists to publish, as well as to suppress, whatever he pleases. He has personal quarrels, too, with the English press; which we are afraid could not be settled by mere prospective regulations. There are more than Peltier who might meet with the fate of Palm.

The next thing we should lose, would be the security of personal liberty. This consequence of conquest we shall give in the words of our author. It is a favourable specimen of his most popular manner.

'We must lay aside also that proud sense of personal inviolability, which we now cherish so fondly; and, what is justly prized still more, the civil sanctity of our homes. The Englishman's house must be his castle no more.

'Instead of our humble watchmen to wish us respectfully good night, when returning to our abodes in the evening, we shall be challenged at every turning by military patroles, and shall be fortunate, if we meet no pert boy in commission, or ill natured trooper, to rebuke us with the back of his sword, or with a lodging in the guard-house, for a heedless or tardy reply. Perhaps, after all, when we arrive at our homes, instead of that quiet fire-side at which we expected

pected to sit in domestic privacy with our wives and children, and relieve our burthened hearts by sighing with them over the sorrows of our country, we shall find some ruffian familiars of the police on a domiciliary visit; or some insolent young officers, who have stepped in unasked to relieve their tedium while on guard, by the conversation of our wives and daughters. It would be dangerous, however, to offend such unwelcome guests, or even not to treat them with all the respect due to brave warriors who have served under Napoleon the Great.

'But, should we escape such intruders for the evening, still we must lye down, uncertain whether our dwellings will be left unviolated till the morning. A tremendous noise will often at midnight rouse the father of a family from his sleep, and he will hear a harsh voice commanding to open the gate, through which its hapless master will soon pass, to return no more.' p. 20, 21.

The most disastrous consequence of conquest, would be the annihilation of national and individual opulence. The mere destruction of the funds would beggar an incredible multitude; but the trade and the riches of England would infallibly perish with its security for property—its equal laws—its colonies and commanding navy. It is only necessary indeed to consider, how much greater and more powerful we are at this moment than our population or extent of territory should naturally have made us, to see how much more we should lose, in losing our independence, than any other people. We should fall like Tyre or Carthage, if the foundations of our commercial greatness were once withdrawn. The quantity of domestic misery which would be produced, in such a population as ours, by this vast and general impoverishment, surpasses all calculation. The author is very long upon it; and gives a number of pictures and details, which we recommend to the consideration of all those who think that industry is secure of its reward in every civilized society, and that it is mere romance for people in the middling conditions of life to fight for political privileges, or for the choice of their rulers.

The rigours of a suspicious provincial military government, would be displayed in full force over the politicians of conquered England;—our mobs and our clubs, and even our coffee house conversations, would be effectually broken up by the sabre and the bayonet. Sanguinary punishments would repress the new invented crimes of suspected disaffection and sedition; and the happy invention of military conscription would take off the turbulent part of our youth, to recruit the legions of their master, and to extend his conquests in another quarter of the globe.

The author next foresees the destruction of our religious liberty, and the compulsory restitution of Popery, among the immediate consequences of our subjugation. We hesitate more

about this, than any of his preceding anticipations: though it is no doubt true, that the universality of that faith would be very convenient for an emperor who keeps the Pope at his disposal, and that there is something in the constitution and doctrine of many of the Protestant churches which would be likely enough to give offence to an absolute sovereign.

The last evil to which the author directs the attention of his countrymen, is the general dissoluteness of manners which would result, partly from the debasement uniformly produced by loss of liberty, but chiefly from the contagion of that profligate and licentious soldiery which would be quartered over all the land, and would naturally take the lead in every thing in which their example could be seducing or pernicious.

Such are the obvious and tremendous evils which this author very fairly and clearly deduces from the supposition of our yielding to the fate which has already fallen on the greater part of Europe, and being subjugated by the arms of France. There is no fancy, unfortunately, and no exaggeration in the statement; every article of it is supported by precedents; every tint is coloured from the life. It is even a softened delineation; for no allowance is made for the peculiar rancour and hostility with which the enemy has always avowed himself to be actuated towards us, more than any other of his opponents.

In the second part of his work, the author proposes to point out a remedy for these evils. But, in this more comfortable and pleasing task, we are concerned to say that he is by no means equally successful. His prescription for averting the present crisis, consists of three ingredients. 1. We are *not* to make peace till matters look better on the Continent; 2. We are to improve our military system, chiefly by filling our ranks with very young men; 3. and finally, We are to deserve the favour of Heaven by reforming our lives, and by forthwith abolishing the slave-trade. Upwards of seventy pages are devoted to pious declamations against this abominable traffic, and reasonings and citations from the Revelation, to show that the successes of Bonaparte have been permitted as a chastisement and admonition to its supporters. All this may be very well meant; but the reasoning, we suspect, would scarcely go down in a sermon. The subject, however, requires a more deliberate consideration.

We cannot bring ourselves to enlarge upon the actual hazard in which we stand, of invasion and possible defeat, though it is here that the prejudices which tie up our hands from exertion are most fatally prevalent. After all we have seen of the unalterable hostility, the daringness and perseverance of our enemy, it is not a little alarming to think how general the persuasion still

is,

is, that nothing in the shape of a formidable invasion will be attempted. Even on the supposition of such an attempt, the greater part of our countrymen have never allowed themselves to imagine any thing beyond a battle at sea. A few of the more resolute have perhaps looked forward to a momentary and unambiguous conflict on the beach with those who had escaped from our maritime vengeance: but we cannot discover that the idea of a protracted contest in the interior has ever been admitted, or that any preparations have been made in contemplation of such a possibility. What the consequences may be of such neglect, we have just been attempting to point out. For some of the facts which imperiously call upon us to take security against them, we refer our readers to the following passages of the work now before us

'Though his threats of invasion have been suspended, not so his naval preparations. He has not discontinued the building of that great number of ships of the line, the keels of which were long since laid at Antwerp, at Brest, and in various other ports of his dominions; and the dock-yards of Venice are now fully employed, as well as those of Spain and Holland, in preparing for him a regular marine. Meantime, the Boulogne flotilla has been carefully maintained upon that extensive scale, and in that fitness for immediate service, to which he had raised it before his march for the Rhine. It is, if public and general report may be credited, capable of transporting, by a single embarkation, 150,000 men to our shores. Nor is that flotilla to be despised, as an instrument of invasion, when in the hands of a man prodigal of the lives of his troops, and inexorably bent on the accomplishment of his purpose: more especially now, when he has gained renown enough, and strength enough, both at home and abroad, to be in no danger, from the discontent that might be excited by the loss of an army.

'We had some security perhaps, till now, from the dilemma in which Napoleon was placed, by the necessity of either risking his own person in the passage, or resigning to another commander the glory of the expedition, in the event of its success. But now, he can afford to spare, to Murat, to Massena, Davoust, or some other distinguished general, the renown of conquering Great Britain; nor feel any apprehension that such a delegate will use the large force to be committed to him, either at Boulogne, or on this side the channel, so as to triumph with safety, and avoid the fate of Moreau. The Usurper will therefore most probably not expose himself to the inconvenience of leading the army of England, nor rashly re-engage himself to do so; but will yield to the prayers of his *anxiously affectionate* subjects, and devolve on some favourite chief that hazardous command.

'But the Boulogne flotilla will not be relied upon, as the only mean of invasion. In other ports of the channel, in the German Ocean, the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Adriatic, regular and powerful armaments will be prepared, so as to distract our attention, and divide our naval force; nor would it be possible for us to blockade them all,

through every season, and with fleets and squadrons sufficiently strong, if our navy were three times as large and potent as it actually is. It would be preposterous therefore to suppose, that from no part of his immense maritime regions, will the enemy be able to send expeditions to sea; and not less so, to rely that his fleets and transports will all be met with by British squadrons, before they can land troops on our shores. Even the vigilance and energy of Nelson, could not prevent the powerful invasion of Egypt; and if, prior to 1805, any man believed that it is impossible for the hostile fleets to steal from their harbours, to perform voyages, and to land forces in distant parts, without being arrested by British fleets in their way, he must now be quite cured of that mistake. We have learnt by reiterated experience within the last two years, that all this may be done, without the discovery even of the point of destination, till it is too late to frustrate the plan.

'It would not be quite so easy, I admit, to collect and send to sea, with equal secrecy, a fleet large enough to waft over an army adequate to the invasion of England; but supposing such fleets to be collected at more ports than one, even this might very probably be effected. It must not, however, be concluded, that the enemy will certainly be driven to the necessity of embarking by stealth. A much more likely, and feasible expedient would be, the bringing together, by combined and well concerted movements, a large part of his naval force, at the destined point of embarkation, and then sailing openly for our coast, under the protection of a fleet such as we could not immediately collect ships enough to intercept and defeat.

'It has been computed by sea officers of reputation and judgment, that 150,000 men might be embarked at Boulogne in a single day; for the vessels now collected there, are so constructed as to take the ground without damage: and when anchored at high-water mark, on a long sandy beach which is impregnably fortified for their protection, they are left dry for hours by the ebb tide; so that the troops may march on board by means of planks, as quickly almost as they could file off into their barracks; and at the return of high water, be ready to put to sea. If so, the command of the channel for eight and forty hours, might suffice for the most formidable invasion.' p. 109—112.

And afterwards—

'After all, have we effective soldiers, regular, or irregular, sufficient, in point of numbers, to make the country perfectly safe against a powerful invasion?

'The volunteers, much more than the regulars, are dispersed in every part of the island; and no great proportion of them could be convened at any given point, soon enough to stop the progress of an enemy, who might land on our eastern or southern coast, before he could become master of London. Besides, the defects which I have just been stating, would be found peculiarly fatal, if such troops were to be marched from distant parts of the island, immediately prior to their being brought into action.

'Of the volunteers now enrolled throughout the kingdom, a great many

many are certainly, in point of discipline, as well as bodily qualifications, unfit for actual service; and a large proportion even of those who are returned as effective, will not be found so upon trial. It is too common, I fear, to keep every member on the effective list, who has once exercised with the corps in battalion upon an inspection or general muster; though, perhaps, he never was perfect even in his manual exercise, and has forgot the little he once learned of it.—These undisciplined effectives too, are, it is probable, increasing very rapidly, in almost every corps not receiving pay, though their nominal force remains undiminished.

'Without enlarging on this subject, I will hazard an opinion that there are not 50,000 volunteers in the whole island, now ready to take the field, and fit to act against an enemy; yet, were there six times as many, it might be difficult to draw together two armies of that amount, in time to make a first and second stand, for the existence of their country. Supposing a battle to be lost, and London in the hands of the invaders, the subsequent junction of volunteers, who are scattered over the whole face of the island, would be no easy work. With a most active and energetic enemy in the centre, the communications between the east and the west, the north and the south, of the island, would not be long open. The hope therefore of further resistance, would depend, not merely on our having enough of effective volunteers, to form a powerful reserve, but on their being sufficiently numerous, to make head in different parts of the country at the same moment, and fight their way in large bodies to a general rendezvous, though opposed by powerful detachments.

'If it be objected, that these calculations are founded on an assumption that we should be taken by surprise; I answer, that our notice of an approaching invasion would probably be extremely short, and quite insufficient for the purpose of embodying our volunteers throughout the island, prior to the actual descent. The means of suddenly embarking a large army at Boulogne, are continually at the enemy's command. The only requisite for invasion, therefore, which, unless he trusts to the flotilla alone, he must provide by new expedients, is a convoying fleet: and this, as has been already shown, he may very possibly obtain by a preconcerted junction of different squadrons off that or some neighbouring port. But the only probable means of so obtaining a temporary superiority in the channel, are so far from being inconsistent with secrecy, that they necessarily imply that quality; nor would the opportunity, when found, admit of any delay. It seems not unlikely, therefore, that the same day would bring us advice that the blockade of Boulogne was raised by a strong hostile fleet, and that the troops were beginning to embark: nor is it impossible, that the flotilla might be already on our coast, before the danger could be announced by Government, at any great distance from London.

'What then is to be done in order to prepare effectually against the danger of such a surprise, with our present means of interior de-

fence? Are the volunteers to be called from their homes, and marched into distant parts of the kingdom, there to be formed into armies, on every alarm? The repetition of such costly and vexatious means of preparation, would soon exhaust both the purse and the patience of the country. Besides, as the danger must always be imminent as long as a large army is encamped within sight of our coasts, and the most specious indications of an immediate intention to embark, could be easily made, the enemy, if he found he could reduce us to such costly defensive expedients, would take care we should have alarms enough to harass our volunteers prior to an actual attempt. It is plain, then, that forces which are to be assembled from many different districts of the kingdom, at the expence of every branch of civil industry, as well as of domestic comfort, must probably be, for the most part, unembodied when the enemy is on his way to our shores.' p. 130–133.

In this situation, is it possible for a moment to doubt, that our danger is great, and that our preparation is inadequate? or, is it conceivable that men should still be found, who can fancy that they act a laudable and spirited part, in discrediting the danger, and obstructing the necessary preparation? or in raising a senseless cry of disaffection or cowardice against all who have courage to look our situation in the face, and patriotism, to wish that it should be rendered more secure? It seems to be the great object of those who assume the direction of the public sentiment, to hold out the enemy as something very hateful, but by no means very formidable; and thus to inflame our animosity, without exciting our apprehensions. Now this, we conceive, is exactly the reverse of the policy which ought to be pursued. Our animosity is already more violent than is either reasonable or becoming; and our apprehensions are proved, by the imperfection of our preparation, to be far less active than they ought to be To talk with contempt of the greatest military power that the world ever saw, is either base affectation, or mere drivelling, or insanity; and yet this is the popular tone among those who seem most inclined to drive us on to the encounter. Provided we are angry enough, and sufficiently convinced that we have to do with a despicable opponent, they seem to think it but of little consequence how we are prepared in other respects for the contest. Our want of discipline and numbers—of generals—of strong places, or plans of operation, are all overlooked; and instead of remedying them, it seems to be the prevailing policy to discountenance all who would press them on our notice, and to make up all deficiencies by more abuse of the enemy, and more high flown compliments to our own confidence and prowess. In consequence of all this, a general feeling is propagated in the country, that no extraordinary exertions can be necessary to repel these presumptuous invaders: and it is but too familiar and obvious a truth, that nothing

thing but a conviction of absolute necessity will ever lead us to those exertions without which we cannot be in safety. That necessity, we think, is now come. We must be an armed nation, before we can be safe from the hostility of a nation much more numerous in arms: and, that we are not already an armed nation, is owing mainly to the pains which have been taken to disguise from us this necessity, to feed us with the vain idea that no foe will dare to assail us, and that we have nothing to do but to retort their menaces by unmanly abuse and impotent reviling.

Those who agree with us, and with the author before us, as to the miseries which this nation, beyond all others, would have to suffer from subjugation, will feel enough of anger and indignation at those by whom they are threatened with such a calamity. There can be no need, therefore, to inflame our animosity by any other considerations. Frenchmen, as Frenchmen, were never very popular in this country: but insulting and invading Frenchmen, could never have met but with one reception. Is it not an insult, then, to the loyalty of our people, as well as to their spirit, to suppose that they need the excitement of passionate invectives, or that they will fight better, and more willingly, if they are kept in the dark as to the danger of the encounter? All this is the worse, too, because we are verily persuaded that the vulgar railing, in which we indulge ourselves towards the enemy, is very nearly as much misplaced and unjustifiable as the accusations which they so industriously circulate as to us. The French are indisputably a gallant, a social, and an ingenious people; and, except that they are at war with us, and have beaten our allies, and are pursuing measures that endanger our security, it does not occur to us that they are more deserving of moral reprobation than most other nations. Their manners are somewhat more licentious, perhaps, than ours; and they are more boastful and insolent than we are said to have been in former times; but, compared with any other Continental people, we cannot help thinking they would appear to considerable advantage; and that they would probably be reckoned, by an impartial tribunal, fully as amiable and respectable as our good allies the Portuguese or Neapolitans—the Cossacs or Laplanders. As to their leader, it must be admitted that he has some flaws in his character that do not perfectly become a hero. He is more irascible and vindictive, it seems, than some other heroes have been; but his insatiable ambition, with his disregard of the lives and comforts of others, are very much in the common heroical style. We do not know that he is worse than the common run of conquerors or arbitrary princes; and are inclined to place him, as to general character, not far from the level of the great Frederic, or the illustrious Catharine. Those distinguished persons

persons had vices enough, both public and private; and were rather given to interfere with their neighbours, from other motives than those of pure philanthropy. We still talk of them, however, not only with patience, but with admiration; and manifest a liberal indulgence to their failings, while we invoke all the lightnings of heaven on the head of their more formidable successor. Now this, we must say, is very partial and childish, and altogether unworthy of the character of the nation, and the contest in which we are engaged. Its most pernicious effect, is in relaxing the vigilant anxiety of our preparation; but it deserves also to be reprobated, as throwing unnecessary obstacles in the way of that pacification to which we *must* ultimately look forward, and in indisposing us to copy from the enemy those things which may be necessary for our preservation.

In considering how we are to oppose that torrent of success, which has hitherto overborne all the bulwarks that have been erected to restrain it, it is neither useless nor unnatural to inquire to what that success has been owing. We may thus be enabled either to discover the vulnerable point of the enemy, or to borrow for ourselves a like invulnerability; to anticipate the decay of what as yet seems to have been constantly growing in strength; or to adopt such arrangements as may raise us to a corresponding degree of force and reputation.

We may talk now of the immense accession of territory and population which France has recently received; of the military discipline that is established over all that vast empire; and of the enormous armies which have been trained to victory in the incessant and extended wars of fifteen years. These, no doubt, are formidable items in the account-current of her greatness; but they are rather the fruits of her success than the causes of it. France, under her old government, was more populous, and more unanimous, and possessed more disciplined soldiers, than in the first of her revolutionary contests; yet, in that distracted and tumultuous state, she overthrew the finest armies in Europe, and established her dominion over provinces, which her monarchs had vainly coveted for several generations before. It is to the revolution itself then, and its effects on the interior structure of society, that we are inclined to ascribe the greatness and the successes of France. By that great concussion, the whole talents of the nation were set at liberty, and rose, by their natural buoyancy, to the higher regions of the state. The ruin and confusion which it produced, did not prevent this effect from taking place; and whatever the nation may have lost in point of internal comfort or happiness, there can be no doubt that it has gained inconceivably in point of foe and activity as a state. This is an advantage which all new governments

governments possess, to counterbalance the many disadvantages to which they are obviously liable. They are generally insecure, and often oppressive; but they are almost always administered with ability, and are strong and efficient in all their measures of public policy.

The fact is now pretty generally admitted: and the theory does not lye very deep. No man can win a place, who does not deserve to occupy it; but he may succeed to it, without any such qualification. A man cannot make a fortune, without money-getting talents; but he may inherit it, without any other dispositions than those of squandering and improvidence. The case is precisely the same as to public functions and political power. In regular and established governments, they are often given, and must often be given, to rank, and to wealth, and to personal influence, without any great regard to superior fitness or ability. In the first formation of society, or in its second formation, in the event of a radical revolution, no such thing is practicable. Places are not given them, but taken; they are not inherited, but won: and rank and wealth, and adventitious influence being annihilated, the only competition is as to personal qualifications; and the only test of their existence is their actual operation and display. All extensive governments, when considered with regard to their functionaries and administrators, are necessarily of the nature of aristocracies; but all aristocracies, at their first formation, are necessarily composed of the strong and the subtle —of those who are powerful or active. Imbecility can by no possibility have a place in them; negligence or incapacity operate a spontaneous exclusion. The race is then always to the swift, and the battle to the strong. That it is otherwise afterwards, is apparent; and though the reasons, why it is so, are not very remote nor abstruse, it may be instructive to trace their operation a little more carefully and minutely, than we have often patience to do in these broad and general speculations.

All civilized governments may be divided into free and arbitrary; or, more accurately for our present purpose, into the government of England and the other European governments. All these, we suppose, were suitably administered in the beginning. The most famous warrior would be king; the next in prowess and reputation would be earls and generals: he who could write best would be chancellor; and he who had the greatest gift of prayer would be court chaplain or archbishop. The same principle would regulate all the inferior conditions: the first captains, we have no doubt, were taller and more expert than the serjeants; and they than the soldiers in the ranks. The acquisition of wealth, and the establishment of hereditary right, made a great change in

in these particulars. A cast, called nobility, was formed, from which alone all the great functionaries of government could be appointed in most countries of Europe; and in process of time, the more important charges could only be given among a small number of families. This produced a twofold effect on the government; in both its branches most prejudicial to its vigour and prosperity. In the first place, by narrowing prodigiously the range of selection, it diminished in the same proportion the chance of a suitable appointment; and, in the second place, by securing in a great degree such appointments to persons of a certain rank and connexion, it excused them from the labour of acquiring those qualifications, which would have been indispensable in the case of a fair competition, and took away the only effectual motive by which they could have been excited, to make themselves fit for the situations to which they aspired. It is well known, accordingly, that over the greater part of the Continent, commands and ambassies, and almost all the momentous employments on which the welfare of a state is necessarily dependent, were claimed as appendages of a certain rank and situation, and were considered as altogether out of the reach of low-born ambition. For a long while, this had the effect of repressing, in the great body of the nation, all those habits and talents by which men could be qualified for public situations; and, for several centuries, the Continent of Europe presented the uniform spectacle of a stupid and brutish commonalty, submitting, without murmuring, to the dominion of a capricious and ignorant nobility. At last, as society enlarged, and the common business of men came to require some degree of intellectual exertion, the absurdity of such an arrangement grew visible, and its consequences began to be felt. Men began to mock at the follies of their rulers, and to aspire to be their correctors. A few situations were every where gradually abandoned to industry and talent; and the princes and nobles became somewhat less ignorant and presumptuous. The whole real power and administration of the state, however, continued in the hands of the privileged orders; and the people, increasing in talent and intelligence much more rapidly than in political influence, came to be ranged in some measure in hostility to their governors, and to be looked upon in return with new feelings of distrust and jealousy. This was the state of things in France immediately before the revolution; and was undoubtedly the true efficient cause of that prodigious explosion. With an immense body of information and genius in the nation, they saw the administration shifted from one set of incapables to another; and, sanguine from inexperience, and exasperated by opposition, they rushed forward to the redemption of the country

try with an impetuosity that occasioned its ruin. In the scenes of outrage and confusion that followed, private happiness, and perhaps private morality, was violently invaded and endangered: many absurdities and many atrocities were committed: but the great object was effected, of placing the highest talents in the highest situations; and appointing the officers of government, if not with a view to the good of the governed, at least with a view to the duties which they had to perform. Every antient ground of exclusion was entirely done away; and all the talent and enterprize of the nation was put in requisition for the service of government, by the mere notoriety of the fact, that it would be employed as soon as it made good its pretensions. It is by this talent, and by this enterprize, that France has hitherto gone on conquering—and to conquer, we are afraid—unless the talent and the enterprize of her adversaries is set free for the contest, by a more cautious repetition of the experiment by which her force has been redoubled.

The other nations of the Continent are, as France was fifty years before the revolution; bestowing every important employment on the order of nobility exclusively, and naming their generals and ministers, with scarcely any exception, from among a small number of court-favourites or powerful families. The people at large is either quite destitute of the talents, for which there is neither reward nor employment; or it begins to feel discontented at the exclusion, and to look upon its own rights and interests as distinct from those of its rulers. With us the case is somewhat different; and it is necessary to consider in what the difference consists.

All the causes of which we have spoken have operated in England as well as elsewhere: they must operate wherever a regular government has been long established, and wherever wealth and dignity is transmitted from generation to generation: but they have operated to a much smaller extent: and the vigour, which cannot be communicated to the Continent, perhaps, without the expense of a revolution, may be infused into England by an enlightened administration of her existing government.

In England, there is no exclusion on account of birth; and little on the ground of what is properly termed court-favour. There is no absolute exclusion, indeed, of any kind; and any man may aspire to any situation in the country. Wealth and political influence, however, are almost necessary to ensure his success in any of the higher departments. We are aware that a certain degree of wealth is necessary, in all countries, to support pretensions of a certain magnitude; but we allude now chiefly to the practice of selling commissions in the army, and other situations of still greater

er importance, which we believe to be peculiar to this country. The effect of such usages, in excluding and discouraging the fair pretensions of talent, is too obvious to stand in need of illustration; but by far the most formidable obstruction to the free use of our intellectual resources, arises from the peculiar nature of our popular constitution, and the general administration of our mixed government.

It is perfectly well known, that there always is in this country a large party opposed to those who are in the actual administration of affairs. This party consists of those members of the legislature who themselves aspire to fill the highest offices of the government; and of those individuals throughout the country who concur in their general maxims of policy, or are attached to them from motives of a more personal nature. The numbers and strength of this party are liable, of course, to variation: but it may reasonably be estimated, in modern times, to comprehend about one third of the whole nation. Here, then, is one great source of exclusion, which operates, with us, far more extensively than in any other country. Those who are in possession of power, and entitled to nominate to the great and influencing employments in the government, cannot be expected to bestow them on their political enemies; and thus one third part of the whole population of the country, comprehending perhaps a still larger proportion of its talent, is lost to the public service, and as completely proscribed and excluded as the plebeian classes are in the old aristocratical governments of the Continent. If there was a free choice, however, or a fair competition among those who belong to the party in power, there would be less reason for lamenting this partial exclusion; but the existence of an opposite party, and the necessity of resisting its increase, has a still more pernicious effect in narrowing a competition for employment. Among those of their own adherents to whom the existing distributors of great employments might assign them, there may be some who are eminently qualified to fill them with ability; and some whose ambitious pretensions it may be of the utmost importance to gratify. In such a dilemma it is not to be expected that merit will prevail; nay, the more virtuous and patriotic the administration may be, the less chance will it have for prevailing; since it will always occur as an irresistible argument, that it is better to submit to the inconvenience of having one insufficient functionary in the state, than to run the risk of displacing the whole administration by disgusting some of its most powerful supporters. This general sketch is enough to explain our meaning to those who have attended to the subject; but it is right to unfold it a little more distinctly.

When

When an office of importance becomes vacant,—when a commander is to be named for a great expedition, or an ambassador for a delicate and critical mission, it is probable that more than one individual will occur to the ministry as peculiarly qualified to discharge those momentous duties, and clearly entitled to the nomination on the score of superior merit. If they were free to follow the suggestions of their own judgment, there would be no doubt about the result; but a ministry in this country, is a set of persons who hold their patronage, and all their other power, in consequence of being supported in all their measures by about two thirds of the members of the legislature, and who would forfeit all this patronage and power the moment they lost that support, or were deserted by any considerable proportion of their adherents. If it should happen, therefore, that any person of great weight and influence in that body should chuse himself to be the commander or ambassador, in the case now imagined, or should insist that the appointment should be given to some friend or connexion of his own, and that, in both cases, under the express assurance that he would withdraw with all his adherents, and unite himself with the opposition, if his application was not attended to;—it is plain that, in most cases, the minister must yield to his conditions. It may not often happen that any one individual can command such a number of votes as to overturn an administration by his secession; but the combined interest of a very few powerful families is generally able to do this; and where they recommend any one with their united influence, the recommendation has the force of a command. It would be altogether extravagant to imagine that any ministry would endanger their own stability, or even risk the cordiality of their adherents, by rejecting such a recommendation, in behalf of a competitor who had nothing but his merit to plead for him. The only apology which could be received for their refusal would be, that a previous application had been made, with which it was still more indispensable for them to comply.

If occurences of this nature were rare, and if the government was left in general to the free exercise of its discretion, the evil arising from such occasional interferences would scarcely require to be noticed; but to those who are at all acquainted with the practice of the constitution, it must be unnecessary to say, that this is not the case. Not only are all the great offices bespoken for the leading members of the legislature, or their immediate connexions, but all the smaller employments, down to secretaries, and clerks to secretaries, are supplied by candidates who rely upon interest, and not upon merit; and produce, as their only qualification, the recommendation of this noble lord, or that disposer

poser of boroughs. So far from being left to the freedom of their own choice, ministers have in general no other discretion to observe, than to disoblige the least powerful of their suitors, and to pacify those whose application is rejected to-day, with promises of better success to-morrow. The consequences of this system are obvious, and sufficiently melancholy.

In the first place, all the great and important offices of the state are virtually monopolized by a few great families. Provided there be any member of those families possessed of talents to discharge their duties in a decent and passable manner, a claim is sure to be made in their behalf; and, from the nature of the government, that claim is almost sure to be successful. The nature of the government, indeed, and the weight of the opposition by which it is always confronted, renders a certain degree of talent in those privileged candidates indispensable. In this respect we have the advantage of the continental governments. Our chief places cannot be given away to persons utterly incapable of their duties; but still, the qualifications required by us in a candidate properly recommended, are undoubtedly very slender, and beyond all question, much lower than might be required, and could be obtained, if the competition were free and general, and if success were the sure reward of superior qualification.

The second bad effect is, that persons whose natural genius and dispositions would ensure the very highest excellence in many important departments, are deterred from cultivating those talents, or bringing them forward into public notice, from the consciousness that they do not possess that political influence which is necessary to give them effect, or from despair of obtaining those recommendations, without which no success is to be expected. Much admirable talent is thus suppressed for want of encouragement; and minds, that might have redeemed or exalted the age or the country to which they belonged, have wasted their vigour in obscure and ignoble drudgery.

The last consequence is, that those who possess the power of nominating to high offices, being thus habitually beset with applications from quarters to which they are forced to pay attention, cease to think of any other functionaries than those who come so recommended, and make no exertion to discover or bring forward those talents, by which alone the exigencies of the country can be supplied in seasons of great difficulty.

These reasons, we think, are nearly sufficient to account for a fact, which we conceive to admit of no dispute, viz. that this country, though containing, in the mass of its population, a far greater proportion of intelligence and just principle, than any other that ever existed, has not generally conducted itself with any extraordinary

extraordinary or consummate wisdom as a government, but has often committed or persisted in the errors which a narrow and a vulgar policy had imposed upon the least enlightened of its neighbours. It is natural to think that the highest talents should be found where there is the greatest reward, and the greatest field for their exertion; and in a free country especially, it seemed necessary to explain how a system should have arisen, which precludes the state from availing itself of the genius and the wisdom of its subjects, and prevents the people from interfering to save themselves by the fair application of the talents and the sagacity they possess.

It is easier to point out the evils of this system, than the measures by which they may be redressed. One great object is, to multiply the points of contact between the wisdom which is scattered among the people, and that which is actually employed in the conduct of public affairs; to enlarge the intellectual communication between the nation and its governors; and thus to enable the knowledge and the talent that are in the country to act upon the mechanism by which its business is performed. By this means, the necessity of employing men of talents, instead of political partisans, will become more generally apparent; the defects of the usual candidates will be better appreciated; and many will retire, and many be driven from a competition, in which they now meet with scarcely any resistance. To negative these established pretensions, however, and boldly to bring in distinguished abilities in preference to party agents, will require in the beginning, no little strength both of mind and of influence in the ministry by which it is attempted. It is obvious indeed that the weaker a ministry is, the more completely it must always be held in thraldom to those by whom it is supported; and that the greater strength it can acquire, the greater will be its independence, and its power of fulfilling its duty, without regarding the disappointment or resentment of individuals. The first step to this great reform, therefore, must be, to form a strong ministry,—one so firmly seated in the esteem and confidence of the country, as to be able to do what is right, without caring whom it displeases, and to attend to the business of the country, without interruption from a distrust of its own security. If such a ministry can once be found, nothing more will be necessary than to give a beginning to the system of which we have been speaking. It will not afterwards be easy to revert to the infatuation of former times. Intriguers and partisans may succeed for a long while, in excluding men of active and commanding talents from high situations; but they will never be able to displace them, if they are once allowed to get footing, and to shew experimentally the difference between them and their predecessors.

If men could be generally persuaded of the necessity of the case, and of the efficiency of the proposed remedy, we should by no means despair of seeing it adopted, at least to such an extent as to ensure its ultimate success. Of the necessity, we think, no man that looks at the present state of Europe, and recollects by what it has been produced, will long entertain a doubt. The same review will satisfy him of the efficacy of the remedy suggested. France has triumphed by the free and unlimited use she has made of the talents of her people; but the people of England are at this moment much more enlightened and ingenious, and capable of affording more efficient service to their government, than those of France, or of any other country. If a similar field was opened for competition,—if the same high rewards were held out for excellence, and the same facilities afforded for its publication and display, we are perfectly satisfied that England would in a very short time exhibit more splendid instances of successful genius, in every department of the public service, than have yet been produced among those who have risen to such a height by their multiplication. Unless somesuch measures be adopted, it is not easy to see how they are to be resisted.

We have dwelt too long, we are afraid, on these general considerations; but they are too important, we conceive, to be suppressed upon such an occasion; and we have been induced to give some latitude to the expression of our opinions, both because the topic has been altogether overlooked by the author of the work before us, and has not been sufficiently unfolded in any recent work that has fallen under our observation. The essential difference between a new and an old government, is the key, we are firmly persuaded, to the whole recent and disastrous history of Europe, and should be our guide and point of direction in all the efforts which we are yet to make for its restoration.

The only other topic in the work before us, to which we have now leisure to attend, is that which treats of the policy of seeking peace with France, in her present triumphant position. The opinion of the author, we have already intimated, is decidedly against such a pacification. Ours, we will confess, rather leans the other way; though the question appears to us to be one of the most difficult and delicate, as well as the most important, to which the public attention can possibly be directed.

The war was undertaken, we shall admit, for the purpose of repressing the usurpations of France, or of ameliorating its government. The result has been, that France has subjugated the whole Continent, from the Baltic to the Straits of Messina; and that its government has passed from a tumultuous democracy, into a regular, enlightened, and well-disciplined military despotism. Such

Such is the state of things with regard to France and her continental enemies. With regard to ourselves, we have hitherto suffered nothing but in our tranquillity and our finances. Our navy has been uniformly triumphant, our trade has increased, and we have conquered a great number of the foreign settlements of the enemy, without losing any of our own; at the same time, we are threatened with invasion, and our taxes are becoming every day more intolerably burdensome. The problem is, whether, in these circumstances, it be wiser to make peace, or to continue the war. The solution, we have already said, appears to us to be extremely difficult; but it will be easier if we can ascertain for what objects the war must now be carried on.

There are only four ends, we think, that can possibly be in the view of those who are for persisting in hostility. The first is, to restore the Bourbons, to reduce the power of France, and to repress her within her ancient limits. The second is, to retrieve, at least to a certain extent, the losses of our faithful allies. The third is, to maintain the conquests which we have made during the war; and the last is, to defend ourselves with greater security from the dangers with which we are menaced, from the enormous power and rooted hostility of our enemy. Of these four objects of war, the two first, we are afraid, may now fairly be given up as desperate and unattainable. The third, we conceive, is unjustifiable and insufficient; and it is with regard to the last only, that we are inclined to entertain any doubt or hesitation.

Every attack that has been made upon France has ended in adding to her power. The wars which her neighbours have waged against her have been the sole causes of her greatness She baffled the greatest armies, and the most extensive leagues, while the strength of her enemies was unbroken, and her own immature. Is it to be expected then, that the issue of the contest should be different, when their resources are wasted, and hers improved,—when their armies have been broken and dispersed, and hers consolidated, multiplied, and elated? The game, we fear, is decidedly lost, as to the Continent of Europe; and for our allies to persist in it, will only be to push their bad fortune. They had better take up the remaining stakes, if they can; and endeavour to acquire a little more skill and contrivance, before they choose partners for a new party. Every new league that has been formed against France, has added a new country to her conquests. The first gave her the Low Countries and Holland; the second gave her Italy and part of Germany: the third laid Austria at her feet; the fourth has annihilated Prussia. Is it for her enemies to persist in this system? Or does any one remain so sanguine as to think the continuance of the war more hazardous to France, than

to what yet remains unconquered on the Continent. In so far as Europe or our allies are concerned, there seems no reason for doubting that peace will give them a better chance of salvation than war.

With regard to ourselves, it will probably be pretty generally admitted, that the conquests we have made are of little value, except as the means of disarming or embarrassing the enemy; and that, if a secure peace could be purchased by their restoration, it would be madness to think of continuing the war, merely for the sake of retaining them. We have more foreign settlements already than we have any good use for; and it would be the height of imprudence to think of keeping all that are now in our hands, even if their original owners were quite willing to relinquish them.

The only rational ground, then, upon which the continuance of the war, as it seems to us, can be justified, is, that, in point of fact, we are safer from the power of France by war, than we should be by peace; that war is truly a defensive measure with us; and that, to relinquish the advantages which its continuance gives us over the enemy, would be to fall into a snare which a very little foresight might enable us to escape. It is essential to inquire, therefore, how far this is a well-founded opinion.

It proceeds upon one general and fundamental supposition, which we are not inclined to dispute, viz. that the enemy would like better to conquer, than to make peace with us; that he dislikes our free constitution, our naval power, and commercial prosperity: and deeply resents the destruction of his marine, and the hostility we have so zealously endeavoured to excite against him. If he does make peace with us, therefore, we may depend upon it that it will be for his own convenience, and not for any love he bears to us, and that he will have every inclination to procure our destruction, whenever he can find an opportunity. In admitting all this, however, as to the dispositions of the French government, we do not admit much more than may be safely assumed as to the purposes and dispositions with which nations in general leave off an indecisive war. They do not in general leave each other at such a moment at all better than they did during the subsistence of hostilities; nor do they care less for the objects, for the attainment of which they have been shedding each others blood in vain. They make peace merely because they despair of obtaining those objects at any reasonable expense; but with a strong resolution to renew the pursuit of them, whenever they think they can be attained. As to making peace in the spirit of peace, therefore, it is a profession in which we have no faith on any occasion. For the same reason, we are but little moved with the common declamatory invectives

vectives against the perfidiousness of our enemy, and the impossibility of trusting to any promises or engagements he may come under. We conceive that all nations are perfidious in this sense of the word; and that they neither do, nor can trust to the good faith of each other, when they enter into compacts and agreements. There are few positions in the science of politics so generally and constantly true as this, that a treaty will not bind any government much longer than its interest would have bound it at any rate; and that all treaties will be broken, soon after it ceases to be the interest of either of the parties to observe them. If we were at peace with France to-morrow, it would still be very much for her interest (we mean the interest of her present government) to demolish our constitution and our marine, and very much for ours, to reduce her power, and diminish her territory. If *either* of the parties, therefore, saw a fair prospect of accomplishing their end, is there any one so romantic as to suppose that pretexts would not be found to set aside the pacific bonds of the treaty?

It is no doubt true, at the same time, that there are peculiarities in the present case which give an extraordinary weight to some of the considerations to which we have alluded. The object about which we are contending is nothing less than our existence; and the hostility of the enemy approaches to the bitterness of personal hatred and animosity: we have nothing to receive back, besides, at a peace, and have a great deal to give up. All those things certainly require deliberation. The most important of them, however, is the peculiar hostility of the enemy; and we will confess, that our conclusion upon the general question would be very much influenced by the opinion we should form as to the extent of this hostility, and the degree to which it is felt by the French nation in general.

If we could persuade ourselves that the French emperor had sworn in his heart to accomplish our destruction, or perish in the attempt, and offered to make peace with no other purpose than to take profit by the temporary advantages it might give him by the restoration of his colonies, and the opportunity of bringing home his stores and treasure;—if we could believe, in short, that he was resolved only to give us one year of peace, and that he would find it safe and practicable to renew the war again after so short a respite,—then we would entirely agree with those who think that such a peace ought to be rejected, and that it could only be considered as a stratagem to cheat us out of the conquests we have made, and to defeat the effect of our maritime superiority. But if, on the other hand, we should see reason to believe that France stands in need of a peace of longer duration, and that, with all the inward hostility that can be imagined, its ruler looks

forward to the formation of a navy, and the restoration of his commerce. as the only sure means of subduing us,—then we would grant him such a peace, and take his word for it in a treaty; because we are decidedly of opinion, that we should profit more by the respite than he could do: and because the very time which would be requisite to mature his machinations, would render their execution impossible.

We certainly incline decidedly to the latter of these opinions; though we have no longer room to state our reasons at length. They are founded chiefly upon the great difficulty the French government would find in engaging its people to enter upon a new and desperate contest, after so welcome a pacification; upon the unwillingness and hesitation of that government to grant us a peace at all; and upon the admitted fact, that no such use as is here supposed, was made of the peace of Amiens, though it subsisted much longer than was necessary to have indicated the purposes for which it was concluded. Believing, therefore, most cordially and sincerely, that France will make peace with an intention to renew the war whenever she has us at an advantage, we see no reason to think that she has in view such local and limited advantages as she could gain by a speedy renewal of hostilities, or that she will ultimately gain any advantage at all by a longer interval of repose.

The reasons of this opinion will be best explained by a short enumeration of the advantages and disadvantages of a peace to this country; or rather of the losses and dangers which we shall incur and avoid, by accepting, at this moment, of terms of pacification.

The dangers and disadvantages of peace in our peculiar situation are obvious, and have been often enumerated; but, for the most part, with so much exaggeration and vehemence, that a plain and candid statement of them may still have the merit of novelty. In the *first* place, we must lay our account with giving up the greater part of the conquests we have made, without receiving, ourselves, any thing in return. France has nothing to return to England in compensation for what England may restore to her or her allies. We may stipulate something indeed for our allies in return for what we give up. but though this may be very much for our honour, it will not be much for our immediate interest or emolument. We have already said, however, that the possession of these places is really of very little benefit to this country; and that the chief use of taking them, is rather to hamper and annoy the enemy, than to enrich ourselves. The chief disadvantage, therefore, which we shall suffer by their restoration, will be, in the *second* place, that we shall thus enable the enemy to occupy a variety of positions from which he may annoy us, on the renewal

newal of hostilities, with infinitely more effect than he can do at present, and from which he will take care that we shall not be able to dislodge him, without great cost and preparation. If we give him back his West Indian colonies, he will have it in his power to send a large force there, under the pretext of reducing the negroes, &c. with which he may overrun all our islands, on the sudden breaking out of hostilities. He may endanger our Indian dominions in the same manner, by sending troops to the Isle of France, or to Ceylon, or Pondicherry; and, at all events, he will garrison those settlements so strongly, that it will occupy a great part of our force, for a year or two, to reconquer them, and to replace ourselves in the situation in which we now stand, and in which, by the continuance of the war, we may now maintain ourselves with perfect security.

In the *third* place, the restoration of peace will enable the enemy to bring home the treasure and the stores which are now locked up in their settlements by our triumphant navy, and to export that great accumulation of commodities which is in a great measure withheld from the market by the same pressure of hostility.

These consequences would follow *immediately* from a peace, and are disadvantages to which we should be subjected by the cessation of the war for ever so short a period. There are others from which we should have nothing to apprehend, unless the peace was of some continuance; they require but to be named. France might restore her commerce, and, moving without the load of our enormous taxes, might eclipse and supplant us in the great market of the world. She would also revive her navy; and, after she had got trade, could scarcely fail to rival, and even to outmatch us in this most essential particular, with her enormous extent of coast, and tributary maritime states. *Lastly*, that we may leave out nothing in the enumeration, we may mention the opportunities which a long peace would afford to the enemy to sow disaffection among our people, especially in Ireland, and in our tributary kingdoms in the East.

To meet those dangers and disadvantages of peace, it would, perhaps, be enough to state the deliverance which it would bring from the danger of immediate subjugation, and the opportunity it would afford for completing those preparations by which that fate may be ultimately averted. There is no man, we believe, who deliberately considers the statements we have already copied from the work before us, who will be of opinion, that our present preparations are adequate to the danger with which we are threatened, or even that they can be made so within the period during which the attempt may be expected, if the war is to continue.

If we are satisfied that peace must be insecure, and that our enemy will busily employ it in improving his navy, with a view to the renewal of war, it cannot be imagined that we should neglect to improve our army during the same interval. We cannot, perhaps, create a military force sufficient for our defence during war, before an invasion is attempted; but we can certainly create such a force, with ordinary exertion, before the enemy can have created a navy sufficient for our destruction. To make a navy, it is necessary, first of all, to establish an extensive foreign commerce;—to make an army, nothing more is requisite, than to train the population already at our disposal. In this point of view alone, therefore, we think peace would be infinitely more valuable to England than to France; and that, if properly and judiciously improved, it might place us in a situation to defy the menaces of our enemy on a renewal of hostility, and to deliver us for ever from the hazards to which it cannot well be denied that we are now liable.

When we mention the name of Ireland, however, we use an argument for peace, which admits, we conceive, of no reply. How vulnerable that country is, and how essential its preservation is to the very existence of our empire, all men who are capable of judging, are now, we believe, agreed. The measures by which alone it can be secured (now, alas! once more thwarted and delayed), must necessarily be gradual in their operation. No system of management, perhaps, would render Ireland secure, if it were to be invaded by a strong force, within a year or two after this time. A very few years, however, of wise administration, would render it even more invulnerable than the rest of the British territory. Such an interval of peace, therefore, is beyond all value with regard to that vital portion of our land, and would give us an incalculable advantage, even if the contest were then to be renewed in every other respect upon a more unfavourable footing. It would be like a truce obtained, while Orlando was recovering from his insanity; or a parley prolonged, till Jupiter could be aroused from his amorous slumbers.

It is needless to suggest, that, by the restoration of peace, we should be relieved from an oppressive and almost intolerable load of taxation; that our industry, disburdened of this grievous pressure, would be quickened into new forms of prosperous enterprize; and that our trade would then rush like a golden deluge over all those regions into which it is now forced to insinuate itself by circuitous and diminished channels. A few years of peace would so recruit and restore our resources, as to render us equal to any exertion in case of a renewal of war. The commercial rivalry of our enemies, we think, is but little to be dreaded. If

we

we undersell all the world at this moment, when our taxes are so enormous, and our access to the market so variously impeded, we should have little to fear from the free competition of France, although all its cannon were melted down into steam engines, and all its swords beaten out into axles.

By making peace, too, even with the intention of renewing the war at a convenient opportunity, France will eventually be seduced into pacific habits, and lose many of those advantages which she now enjoys as a belligerent. To improve her commerce, as the rival of ours, and the basis of her future navy, must be the first great object of her ruler; but a commercial people, and, above all, a people just beginning the tempting career of commercial prosperity, must naturally be averse to war; and, most of all, to war with the greatest maritime power in the world. The war and the conscription, we are credibly informed, are very far from being popular in France at this moment; but if the war were once terminated by an honourable peace, and the people begun to be occupied in peaceful pursuits, it would not be easy to make them submit to this returning plague, nor very safe, perhaps, for their ruler to compel them.

It is likewise deserving of consideration, that the longer we can protract the period of peace, the more we get over, in safety, of the life of that extraordinary individual, with whom, it is extremely probable, that much of the rancour, and much of the power by which we are endangered, will die. But it is of still more consequence to observe, that the longer we can postpone the crisis of our contest, the weaker and the less provided we shall find our adversary for the encounter; and this not merely from the disuse and distaste for war which the experience of peace will produce, but from the rapid decay of those advantages which she now possesses as a new government. Already the throne of Bonaparte begins to be surrounded by court-favourites, and princes and dignitaries of all descriptions; and the access of merit to his imperial patronage will probably soon be as difficult as it is to other thrones. The eminent persons who forced themselves into notice in the tumultuary times of the revolution, must disappear in no long period; and the genius and form of the existing government, is by no means calculated to supply their place, except, perhaps, during the opportunities and casualties of an actual campaign. If a more liberal and patriotic system, therefore, be adopted in England, while a more jealous and exclusive policy is daily gaining ground in France, it is not difficult to conjecture what the result will be, nor in how short a time the situation of the combatants may be in this respect entirely reversed.

There are many other consequences of peace which might be anticipated

anticipated with nearly equal probability. Those in particular, that relate to the revival and recruiting of the other Continental powers; the probable disunion of the tributary sovereigns by which France has now surrounded herself; and the dismemberment of many parts of her overgrown and discordant dominions. All these events at least, it is easy to see, are rendered much more improbable by the continued pressure of war; and though most likely, and indeed almost certain in themselves, can scarcely be expected to occur, till peace have restored to the system its natural springs of development. We have no longer room, however, to enlarge upon these, or any other considerations; and shall conclude with one general remark.

Peace is in itself so great a good, and war so great an evil, that whenever we are not able to foresee exactly all the consequences of either, we may safely presume, that all that are unknown of the one will be good, and all that are unknown of the other will be evil. In most human affairs, however, the consequences which are not foreseen are more important than those that can be predicted. History and experience illustrate this sufficiently as to the present parallel, and show that the most successful war is usually productive of loss and disaster, even to the victorious party, while peace scarcely ever fails to supply a thousand advantages that had not been calculated upon, and to repair, with incredible celerity, the wounds which hostility had inflicted. Among the chief blessings of peace, we think, is its tendency to generate a spirit of peace; a spirit which cannot be generated, we believe, in any other way, and which, in an advanced state of society, and after a long experience of the miseries of contention, may perhaps prolong into habitual amity those hostile truces and breathing-times to which nations have lately limited their intervals of war.

Without indulging in such anticipations, however, we may be permitted to say, that Europe now stands in need of refreshment and repose; that the experiment of war has been carried quite far enough to show that its further prosecution would be ruinous; and that with regard to this country in particular, whose only remaining object of war must be security, that object will be rendered infinitely more attainable by a peace, even of temporary endurance, than by an obstinate perseverance in measures of hostility. We express these opinions with the less hesitation, because it rather appears that they concur with those which our enemy has formed on the subject. If peace were to do so much good to him, and such injury to us, as is alleged by the advocates for war, it is singular that he should have appeared so much more reluctant than any administration of ours has yet been to enter into terms

terms of pacification. It is a strong ground for believing that peace would be advantageous to us, that our wily and persevering enemy has uniformly refused to consent to it. This is an evil to which we must submit, and against which we must struggle as valiantly as we can: but it is painful to think how many there are among ourselves who second these purposes of the enemy, from misguided zeal and mistaken patriotism, and labour to perpetuate that hostility from which he alone has hitherto derived any advantage. We cannot obtain peace, to be sure, by wishing for it, or even by offering it; but it is something to be prepared to receive it, if the offer should be made to us; and, at all events, it is of consequence that the grounds of our election should be fully and generally considered, before the time calls on us for an immediate determination.

ART. II. *Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal.* 8vo. Blacks & Parry. 1806.

A TREATISE on the husbandry and commerce of Bengal, was printed at Calcutta about ten years ago. The present work is a republication of the first portion of that treatise, and was written by Mr Colebrooke in 1794, though corrected for this edition in 1803. The remainder of the original publication was chiefly composed by the late Mr Lambert, and related to the manufactures and external commerce of Bengal, whilst the observations of Mr Colebrooke are confined to the internal traffic. We have already remarked, that this work was not unknown to Dr Tennant, for whom plagiarism has sometimes furnished an Indian recreation.

We should have thought the whole treatise eminently calculated to excite and to reward the public attention; but since we are obliged to content ourselves with a portion of those interesting speculations, we have no hesitation in giving the preference to that with which we are here presented. Mr Lambert was a highly respectable merchant of Calcutta; a man endowed with uncommon sagacity, and bred up in mercantile habits. 'Merchants,' says Dr Smith, 'during their whole lives engaged in plans and projects, have frequently more acuteness of understanding than the greater part of country gentlemen As their thoughts however, are commonly exercised rather about the interest of their own particular branch of business, than about that of the society, their judgments, even when given with the greatest candour, is much more to be depended upon, with respect to the former

former of those two objects, than with regard to the latter.' We are deeply impressed with the force of this observation. The candour and veracity of Mr Lambert were far above suspicion; but, in the plans occasionally submitted by that gentleman to the consideration of the Government-General, we always discovered a more accurate perception of the interests of the Calcutta merchants, than of those of the natives, of the East India Company, or of England.

But are these interests really distinct? That of the Calcutta merchants (a body which comprises men of the highest worth) may be allowed to be, in some respects, irreconcileable with that of the Company: but may it not be correctly affirmed, that the permanent advantage of Bengal, of the Company, and of England, rests on the same foundations, flows from the same principles, and must be promoted by the same measures, in so far as they are connected? Is it not true, that a step which must prove prejudicial to one of the three, would ultimately produce consequences injurious to the others; and that the permanent advantage resulting to each, from cooperating towards the general prosperity, is more than sufficient to compensate what each must relinquish to obtain that end?

To these questions we reply with a decided conviction in the affirmative: but the arguments whence we deduce these conclusions are founded on many general, and many local considerations, to which our limits do not admit even of adverting. A more favourable occasion may possibly soon present itself in the discussion of a momentous question of general policy. We shall, then, after doing justice to the eminent perspicuity and talent displayed by the Director, who drew up the report on that important subject, take occasion to prove that, in all human probability, the measure he deprecates would prove still more suddenly, and more fatally injurious to the British interests in India, than even he anticipated. Our arguments will be founded on considerations derived from the internal polity of that country, which have never hitherto been brought under review, on account, probably, of the great development they would require, to persons unacquainted with the peculiar state of society which prevails in our Indian dominions. We are confident that our suggestions will receive the approbation of the persons most competent to form a correct judgment, viz. the gentleman by whom the charge of administering justice, or collecting the revenues of districts placed under their superintendance, has been exercised. We shall also expect the assent of those who have weighed, with judicious scrutiny, the causes of the phenomena we admire; of a country amply peopled with hardy and intelligent inhabitants, quietly

quietly submitting to a sway exercised by a handful of strangers, cordially espousing their interests, and sacrificing their lives on the field of battle for the support of their authority. To that numerous and ingenious portion of the community, however, who think that the state of society in other countries, either is, or ought to be, precisely what they see it at home, our arguments, we are afraid, will appear altogether contemptible: though some of them, to adopt the language of Mr Bruce, may even have travelled as far as Paris. In this patriotic class, we suspect we must rank the valiant General Craddock; though we lament that a laudable predilection in favour of leathern caps, should have led to such an effusion of human blood.

The work before us, indeed, invites to no such discussions. Distinguished equally by conciseness and perspicuity, it presents important facts, and avoids general reasonings. On controverted points, the opinions of the author are rather implied than expressed; and although, if we have correctly seized his notions, we can by no means subscribe to all his conclusions, we render a willing testimony to the ability and industry, with which he has prosecuted his researches, as well as to the honourable motives which suggested them.

Just before the year 1794 (when this work was published), a measure of incalculable magnitude had been put in execution, involving the interests of every class of persons in India;—a measure equally urged by the Board of Controul, and by the Court of Directors, from considerations of benevolence and justice, and supported, as they imagined, by policy as well as propriety;—a measure which constituted the great object of the successive administrations of the Marquis of Cornwallis, and of Lord Teignmouth; and where plans, dictated by benevolence, were to be executed, it would have been difficult to have selected more zealous or more intelligent agents. The partisans of the permanent settlement of the revenues were disposed to date the renovation of Bengal from the era of its introduction: less sanguine observers harboured doubts of its efficacy. It would have afforded us infinite gratification, to find from the statements of Mr Colebrooke, that measures, suggested by the purest motives, had been attended with the desired success: but on this head his readers receive no information; nor do we recollect any passage in this work, which appears to be written posterior to 1794, when its merits could not be judged from its effects. Yet some incidental observations lead us to conclude, that the principle on which the permanent settlement was founded, neither coincides with our author's views of justice nor policy. We will now endeavour to exhibit a correct statement of the most important results

sults detailed in this work, and conclude by some strictures on the particular points which we consider as exposed to animadversion.

Under the name of Bengal, Mr Colebrooke comprehends all the regions governed by the presidency of Fort-William, viz. the whole suba of that name, that of Behar, with such parts of the subas of Allahabad, Berar, and Orissa, as acknowledged the Company's authority, previously to the additions they received during the government of the Marquis of Wellesley These physical divisions are faintly distinguished by the gradual rise of the level in receding from the sea. The tract of inundation is marked by its ample produce, particularly of rice, and by the superior value of its manufactures. The culture of rice is superseded in the higher lands by that of wheat and barley The superior stratum is every where clay, with a considerable proportion of silicious sand, fertilized by various salts, and by decayed substances, animal and vegetable.

The results of three calculations, founded on different *data*, leads our author to conclude that the population of Bengal, in the extensive sense above mentioned, is at least 27 millions of inhabitants. The first is founded on an actual ascertainment, by our author himself, in the district of Puriniyah, which, allowing five to a family, gave 203 inhabitants to a square mile; and, applying this result to the whole area, after excluding a fourth as waste lands, we should have 24,740,000 inhabitants for Bengal, Behar, and Benares, exclusive of Orissa and Berar. The second calculation is founded on general surveys of entire pergunnahs in different districts: they lead Mr Colebrooke to the following proportions for the whole of Bengal, viz.

Rivers and lakes (an eighth)	3
Deemed irreclaimable and barren (a sixth) . .	4
Site of towns and villages, highways and ponds, (a twenty fourth)	1
Free lands (an eighth)	3
Liable for Revenue.	
In tillage (three eighths)	9
Waste (a sixth)	4
	24

The result of this calculation, assigning one cultivator, the head of a family, for every 18 bigas, and supposing the same proportion to subsist between the husbandmen and the artificers as was ascertained in Puriniyah, would, after striking off a fourth for lands entirely waste, give a population of 33 millions for the whole,

whole, did not other causes of inaccuracy subsist, some of which he has pointed out. The third basis of calculation, though far from furnishing a very solid groundwork, is, in our apprehension, preferable to the two above mentioned. It is founded on the quantity of salt consumed; a fact which may in some measure be ascertained by the Company's sales.

'That quantity, compared with a supposed population of 30 millions of people for Bengal and Behar, would indicate an annual consumption of nearly 11 pounds a head: but if we suppose the population not to exceed 24 millions, we must then rate the average consumption of salt so high as 14 pounds, which exceeds all experience in India, even where salt is cheapest.

'Common husbandry sows the rice at the season when it should naturally vegetate to gather a crop in the rains: it also withholds seed till the second month of that season, and reaps the harvest in the beginning of winter. The rice of this crop is esteemed the best.'

Wheat and barley are sown at the commencement of winter, and reaped in the spring. Most sorts of pulse are either sown or reaped in the winter. Millet, a common food with the lower classes, is restricted to no season. The plough used in Bengal is ill calculated for making a deep impression; repeated ploughings are requisite to prepare the soil for the reception of seed; and it must afterwards be watched, to defend it from the depredations of birds. The operation of weeding is performed with an inconvenient instrument; in reaping, the sickle supplies the place of the scythe; and time is unprofitably occupied in selecting the riper plants.

'At the convenience of the husbandman, the cattle tread out the corn, or his staff thrashes the smaller seeds. The grain is winnowed in the wind, and is stored either in jars of unbaked earth, or in baskets made of twigs, or of grass.'

The want of roads prevents the employment of beasts of burden to bring home the harvest. The rotation of crops is guided by no judicious selection; influenced solely by the desire to obtain as much from the land as it can be made to yield within the year, the soil is ultimately impoverished, and soon requires time to recruit. Dung, universally used for fuel, is employed as manure only in the cultivation of sugar cane, mulberry, tobacco, and poppy. The want of capital in manufactures and agriculture prevents the division of labour; it forces the peasant to unite the labours of the mechanic with the cultivation of the earth, and compels the artist to engage in rural toils.

'An ignorant husbandry,' says Mr Colebrooke, 'which exhausts the land, and neglects the obvious means of restoring its fertility, and of reaping immediate profit from the operations which might restore it; rude implements, inadequate to the purpose for which they are formed, and

and requiring much superfluous labour; this again ill divided, and of course employed disadvantageously;—all loudly call for amendment.'

In Bengal, where the revenue of the state has long had the form of land rent, the management of the public finances has a more immediate influence on agriculture than any other part of the administration. The condition of the Puttahs or Wases, granted by the Zemindars to their tenants, vary extremely in the same districts. When the rent is paid in kind, the usual rate of distribution is half the produce. The local taxes, established in particular districts, are a source of infinite vexation and litigation, whilst 'measurements long omitted, without a rule of record substituted in their place, and former surveys forgotten, or their rates become obsolete, leave no certain rule for adjusting the rents.' But high as the assessment is to which the peasants in Bengal are subjected, they have no right to expect lenity in its exaction from the Zemindars.

'Responsible to government for a tax originally calculated at ten elevenths of the expected rents of their estates, they have no probable surplus above their expenditure to compensate for their risk. Any calamity, any accident, even a delay in his recoveries, may involve a Zemindar in difficulties, from which no economy nor attention can retrieve him. He is not, therefore, likely to be an indulgent and forbearing landlord.'

The fifth chapter is devoted to a statement of the profits of husbandry. The result of Mr Colebrooke's inquiries is, that the cultivation of grain yields little or no profit to the husbandman, who raises it with no other view than as a source of subsistence to his family, in case of the failure of more profitable crops, or to guard against the return of years of scarcity. The price of corn fluctuates in Bengal more than in Europe, and has a considerable influence on the value of all other articles, by creating an unusual competition amongst the sellers, when it is above the common standard. This is in some measure counteracted by the husbandman's possessing a little stock of his own produce, for the consumption of his family; and by the Company's monopoly of certain articles of produce at unvaried rates. The profits of cattle are considerable, and much less precarious; they are derived from the increase of stock, and the sale of the produce, milk, curds, and clarified butter.

'The orchard is what chiefly contributes to attach the peasant to his native soil. He feels a superstitious predilection for the trees planted by his ancestor; and derives comfort, and even profit from their fruit.'

The mango, palmyra, cocoa-nut, date, and areca, which shade his humble cottage, administer the luxuries of his table, and supply him with articles of ready sale. For the supply of conveniences,

niences, or an accession of wealth, he must depend on the successful culture of more precarious crops, sugar, tobacco, silk, cotton, indigo, and opium. The medium profits of the latter are not perhaps greater than from corn; but frequent instances of immense gain are calculated to allure cultivators; though the Company are said to experience much difficulty in procuring the quantity required for the China market. Tobacco is the most profitable culture to which the husbandman can devote his toils. It might be raised in Bengal in sufficient quantities to supply the consumption of Europe. But whilst the freight remains at 15l. per ton, its export thither would prove detrimental to the speculator. The sugar cane has been cultivated throughout Bengal from time immemorial; and the names by which it is known in other countries, appear to be slightly corrupted from Sanscrit appellations. In an eloquent and argumentative appeal to the British nation, Mr Colebrooke descants on the justice and policy of opening the English markets to the produce of Bengal; he contrasts the cheapness of culture there, with the extravagant price at which it is raised in the West Indies; the voluntary labours of free cultivators, with the blood-stained toils of reluctant slaves; and deprecates the idea of considering Bengal in the light of a foreign and tributary country, whose industry should be discouraged. His arguments on this subject appear indeed, to us, altogether unanswerable: were sound policy always in unison with strict justice, the line of conduct to be adopted would admit of little hesitation. Cotton is raised in Bengal in considerable quantity; besides which, an immense importation is received from the northern and western countries; the high rate of freight alone prevents it being brought to Europe, to the advantage equally of our own manufactures, and of the country whence it is exported. The districts in which the silk-worm is reared, could not perhaps supply a greater quantity of silk than they at present furnish; but we are convinced with Mr Colebrooke, that the culture of the mulberry might be extended with advantage to other districts.

'The exportation of grain from corn countries, and the returns of salt, constitute the principal object of internal traffic. The importation of cotton from the western provinces, and the exchange of tobacco for the areca nut, together with some sugar, and a few articles of less note, complete the supply of internal consumption. Manufactures are almost limited to the wants of their immediate neighbourhood, excluding from this consideration the provision of the public investment, and the calls of foreign trade. Piece goods, silk, saltpetre, opium, sugar and indigo, pass almost wholly through the Company's hands, excepting only what foreign commerce, and the

traffic to various ports in India, export, of such among these articles as the Company do not monopolize.'

Mr Colebrooke estimates the value of corn annually transported from distant parts of the interior, to supply the consumption of cities, and the export trade, at two millions Sterling, which is principally repaid in salt. The consumption of their own manufactures by the natives in articles of dress, he estimates at six millions annually. Our author then furnishes an enumeration of the articles which he imagines might be advantageously imported from Bengal, were the rates of freight reduced to what a free competition would afford, and concludes with the following incontestable proposition,

'That England ought not to discourage the commerce of her own subjects and tributaries in favour of foreign nations.'

We have now endeavoured to do justice to the meritorious and successful researches of Mr Colebrooke, whose talents have, we understand, deservedly raised him to the highest station which a Company's servant is likely to attain in that country. Before we proceed to the less agreeable part of our task, we cannot refrain from stating a whimsical, and rather ludicrous impression, which we received from the perusal of some part of his work. If we suppose a man of an intelligent and reflecting mind, and possessed of much local knowledge, thrown into society with a person of similar character, but destitute of the latter advantage, though accustomed to speculate on an extensive scale, to contemplate mighty innovations, and much more apt to feel deeply the evils he attributes to existing institutions, than calmly to appreciate the effects of their removal; if we could suppose that such a person were to succeed in communicating his impressions to his associate, and in enlisting his local knowledge in the service of his own speculative views, whilst at the same time he is much too intelligent not to know, and much too candid to suppress, the physical causes to which the evils he deplores may frequently be traced; we shall then be able to account for several passages in this work. In these, we find the state of the Bengal peasantry depicted in a querulous tone, as the result of their own mismanagement, and the consequences of their unenlightened industry; but we have scarcely time to breathe the philanthropic sigh over their infatuation in being blind to obvious improvements, before we stumble, altogether unexpectedly, on the physical necessity which regulates their conduct, and which all the agricultural science of Mr Arthur Young could not remove. We adduce two instances, which have a little amused us.

'In

'In his progress through Bengal, the traveller will not confine himself to remark the natural diversity in the aspect of the country, but will compare the neat habitations of the peasants, who reside in hilly regions, with the wretched huts of those who inhabit the plain; and the contrast may suggest a reflection, how little the richest productions, and most thriving manufactures, contribute to the general comfort of the people at large.'

We had scarcely time to lament the unfortunate inhabitants of plains, before we were reminded that the waters which fertilize their fields, frequently deluge their habitations; and that the inconvenience of their quarters was compensated by saving the labour of artificial irrigation, and obviating the necessity of manure. Again,

'If dikes, to check the inundation, show an attention to improvement—reservoirs and dams, constructed for irrigation in the champaign country, are equally a proof of some attention to that object, while wells for watering the fields offer a pleasing specimen of industry in the western provinces. But if something occur to extort applause, the most desultory observation will notice more to censure.—The assemblage of peasants in villages, their small farms, and the want of inclosures, bar all great improvements in husbandry.'

This unaccountable propensity in the peasants to huddle together in villages, whilst they might apply their labour so much more profitably by living on their farms, would have appeared like infatuation.

But 'it is true, that in a country infested by tigers, solitary dwellings and unattended cattle would be insecure; but no apology can be offered for the peasants indifferently quitting the plough to use the loom, and the loom to resume the plough. Industry cannot be worse directed.'

But since the danger from beasts of prey renders the assemblage of houses necessary, was it judicious to insert this amongst the objects of censure? We are unable to judge how far enclosures would prove beneficial in Bengal; they are rare there, as over the whole Continent of Europe; but were they ever so abundant, they would not at all obviate the necessity of guarding the cattle from the attacks of ferocious animals, nor admit of their being left out at night. Bold as it may seem, we even venture to apologize for the alternate labours of the loom and the ploughshare.

'The spring and the dry season occupy four months,' says Mr Colebrooke, 'during which the heat progressively increases, until it becomes almost intolerable, even to the natives themselves.'

At this period uninterrupted field labour is impossible; and though the greatest sultriness prevails then, yet the heat is intense during three fourths of the year, for some hours after

noon. When his rural occupations are unavoidably interrupted, through fatigue or excessive heat, application to a sedentary employment appears to us rather laudable, than an object of censure. It is true, the husbandmen have the alternative of being idle during that period; and many of them have had the penetration to prefer it.

'The necessaries of life are cheap, the mode of living simple; and though the price of labour be low, a subsistence may be earned without the uninterrupted application of industry. Often idle, the manufacturer and peasant may nevertheless subsist.'

It is possible, that, in temperate climes, the minute subdivision of labour may furnish a tolerably accurate criterion of the commercial prosperity of the country in which it subsists. It is possible that the numerary value of its productions may be in some degree commensurate with the moral degradation of the mass of its inhabitants; and that when their ideas shall each be limited to the performance of one simple manipulation, the country shall have attained the acme of its splendour. These axioms we are by no means disposed to combat; but think that, during the unavoidable interruption of his rural labours, occasioned by the climate, the Bengal peasant may be allowed to employ himself in plying his loom within doors.

An observation which Mr Colebrooke has applied to one branch of cultivation, might, in our opinion, be judiciously applied to all.

'A course of experiments would be requisite to ascertain whether the methods actually employed, be better suited to the soil and climate, than others which might be, or which have been, suggested, after comparing the practice of other countries with the various methods pursued in Bengal.'

It will frequently be found, that customs which appear to strangers the result of negligence and want of refinement, have their origin in local peculiarities, and may, on further information, be traced to a series of profound and continued practical observations. We are disposed to think, that our author's strictures on the plough, and on the rotation of crops used in Bengal, may be found in this predicament. The former is not calculated to make a profound impression on the soil, and only foratches the surface. Is it desirable it should do more? We can affirm, that, in most parts of Bengal, at some distance from the surface, the soil is strongly impregnated with alkaline salts, extremely hostile to vegetation; insomuch, that delicate plants have frequently a layer of bricks placed below them, to prevent their roots from descending to the noxious stratum. To enable his readers to judge how far the Hindus are scientific and intelligent cultivators of the soil, we lament that Mr Colebrooke has not

not given the names adopted by them for the different species of lands, discriminated by their respective level above the line of inundation, and the peculiar mode of culture appropriated to each. The Dowra, annually fertilized by inundation, and yielding one crop. The Caduri, above the level of inundation, but receiving an annual deposite of rich soil washed from higher lands, and yielding two crops. The Danga, more elevated than either, and manured (not indeed with dung, which Mr Colebrooke seems to regard somewhat too exclusively as the only fertilizing substance, but) with soil brought from the tract of inundation, and left by the waters on their retreat; this is devoted to the more delicate and costly productions. These are only a few of the distinctions admitted in Hindu husbandry. The two first, to which nature applies the manure it requires, bear crops *ad infinitum*, without the necessity of lying fallow to recruit their vegetative powers. What we have said will suffice to prove that the Bengal peasantry do not proceed without fixed principles for their guidance, and those probably derived from a remote antiquity, and possibly the best adapted to their soil and climate. We can also assert, that, in the part of the country with which we are most conversant, the rotation of the crops was in a certain degree regulated by their supposed effects on the soil, excepting where the annual deposite of alluvial earth rendered this attention superfluous.

It were idle to criticize the *data* on which Mr Colebrooke has founded his calculations of the population of Bengal. They were the best, we have no doubt, to which he had access; and, unsatisfactory as they are, we are persuaded they have conducted him to a nearer approximation to the truth than his predecessors, and that the population of the tracts in question may perhaps fairly be estimated at thirty millions.

'We appeal,' says Mr Colebrooke, 'to the recollection of every person who has traversed the populous parts of Bengal, whether every village do not swarm with inhabitants? whether every plain be not crowded with villages? and whether every street be not thronged with passengers.'

This apparent affluence of inhabitants, in a country where one fourth of the population are rarely seen abroad, convinces us that the inhabitants bear a relatively great proportion to the superficies of occupied land. Our author has excluded a fourth of the area 'for tracts of land nearly or wholly waste;' but this in addition to one sixth, previously allowed in his calculation for lands 'deemed irreclaimable and barren,' and wastes liable to pay revenue. This classification is not very intelligible. Does our author comprehend in the former, the extensive tracts of forests, such as the Sundrivana; and indicate, under the lat-

ter, the barren and waste tracts which occur in fertile and cultivated districts? If this exposition be correct, we shall be at a loss under what head to place the rich pastures which occupy so great a proportion of the whole superficies. An incidental expression in a subsequent passage, would induce us to conclude that these must find a place amongst the waste lands—'Cows are usually fed near home, on reserved pastures, or on the waste lands of the village.' But, without adverting to the injudicious choice of the term selected to indicate lands from which the peasant derives so capital a part of his subsistence and profit, our astonishment is extreme, to find them rated at only a sixth of the whole area, whilst the land in tillage is estimated at a third. We should certainly have been disposed to reverse these proportions, in the part of Bengal with which we are familiar: and we find that Mr Grant estimates the pasture land at two fifths, whilst he allots only one fifth for the portion in cultivation.

To the writings of that meritorious servant of the Company, Mr Colebrooke appears to have devoted little attention. We find him once quoted, in a note, and that inaccurately, which we think it right to rectify, in order to preclude important misconceptions.

'The standard,' says our author, 'for the regulation of rates has been lost. We learn from Mr James Grant, in his observations on the revenues of Bengal, that the assessment was limited not to exceed, in the whole, a fourth part of the actual gross produce of the soil. The antient method of estimating the resources from the produce is explained in the Ayin Acberi.'

Mr Colebrooke has inadvertently misstated the fact asserted by Mr Grant. That gentleman states one half of the crop to be the general contribution from corn, when paid in kind; but one fourth of the estimated value when paid in specie, which was optional with the cultivator. But as our author thinks the original standard is now lost, he, of course, conceives that this fact rests on the single authority of Mr Grant. Yet, in the Ayin Acberi itself, the proportion of a fourth is distinctly stated. In the Muntukheb al Bab, the following passages authenticate the original standard on which the Asul Tumar Jumma was constructed by Rajah Tudor Mull.

'A new mode of collecting the revenues was also adopted, and named Buttaï, the aggregate quantity of grain produced, in the autumnal and vernal harvests, by the sole influence of the periodical rains, underwent an equal division; one half rewarding the labour of the husbandman, and the remainder being appropriated by government.'

Again,

'The dues of government might also be collected in money, if judged preferable, in the proportion of the fourth of the estimated produce of each Biga.'

The

The same fact is attested by Shah Nuaz Khan, in his biography of Rajah Tudor Mull

'He exacted the fourth of the produce in money; and in kind divided the crop, which was called Buttaï.'

Considerable perplexity will be found also to occur in Mr Colebrooke's manner of considering the subject of Zemindari rights.

'In one point of view, the Zemindars, as descendants of antient independent rajahs, or as the successors of their descendants, seemed to have been tributary princes. In another light, they appeared to be only officers of government. Perhaps their real character partook of both.'

We know in point of fact, that none of the considerable Zemindars of Bengal are descended from independent sovereigns, and that their possessions are comparatively of very recent date. The observation, then, only tends to embarrass the question, by the introduction of an irrelevant supposition.

It only remains to consider the hints suggested by the enlightened benevolence of Mr Colebrooke, for the amelioration of our Indian dominions. They consist of two propositions: 1*st*, That the capital employed in agriculture is too small, and injudiciously applied.

'If Bengal had a capital in the hands of enterprizing and intelligent proprietors, who employed it in agriculture, manufactures and internal commerce, these arts would be improved; and with more and better productions from the same labour, the situation of the labourers would be less precarious, and more affluent.'

Let us examine this proposition. A more intelligent cultivation would indisputably raise a greater quantity of produce: But is it the penury of its produce of which Bengal has to complain? In a country where corn does not pay the expence of cultivation, would the production of a still greater quantity augment its value? The produce is now exuberant, and the defects of the agricultural system cannot be demonstrated by the scantiness of the produce, as stated by our author himself. We apprehend, from Mr Colebrooke's statements, corroborated by our own observation, that it is not the produce, but the constant demand, which should be augmented to alleviate the situation of the husbandmen. But who are the intelligent and enterprizing proprietors, to whose assistance he would have recourse? Would he recommend the rescission of the act of Parliament which precludes Englishmen from purchasing or farming lands? To rescind an act of the Legislature, which places the character of the British nation

'Above all Greek, above all Roman fame?'

An act of justice and enlightened policy, without which, we will

venture to affirm, one half of the lands of Bengal would, ere this, have become the property of Englishmen, and the natives would have been strangers on their own soil. * But perhaps we mistake Mr Colebrooke's idea, and will not pursue this topic further. Should that prove the case, the permanent settlement, by the sale of lands to supply deficiency of revenue, seems to provide for the introduction of more enterprizing, and more affluent proprietors, into the landed system. The purchasers usually consist of wealthy natives, who have acquired their fortunes by commerce: their habits of industry, their enterprize and their capital, under the encouragement held forth by a permanent assessment, may, it is hoped, be advantageously employed in rural concerns.

The *second* proposition is the encouragement of agriculture, in facilitating exportation, by lowering the rates of freight, and the duties on Bengal sugar in England. The length to which we have carried our analysis of this important and valuable publication, prevents us from entering on a subject so much perplexed by jarring interests; and obliges us to conclude, by repeating our warm general approbation of the contents of this work.

ART. III. *The Stranger in Ireland; or, a Tour in the Southern and Western Parts of that Country in the Year* 1805. By John Carr, Esq. of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple; Author of a Northern Summer, or Travels round the Baltic; the Stranger in France, &c. &c.

WE were glad to see a tour through Ireland by Mr Carr; for though a hasty traveller, and an incorrect writer, we judged from his former publications, that he had talents for observation, and for lively description. We expected that he would throw new lights upon the state of Ireland; that country, for which, as Lord Chesterfield said, 'God has done so much, and man so little.' The union has certainly created a demand for a statistical, economical, moral, and political view of Ireland, with a clear explanation of the causes which have, for nearly three centuries, impeded its progress in civilization; and a statement of such remedies as sound policy and practical humanity suggest for its improvement.

Spenser,

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* It is difficult to describe the astonishment with which foreigners learn this act of magnanimity in the British Legislature. Several persons of distinction in France could not conceal the impression produced by mentioning it.

Spenser, who was secretary to one of the lord lieutenants in the reign of Elizabeth, and Sir John Davies, who was attorney-general and speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland in the reign of James the I., have left full and able accounts of the state of that country in their times. The Irish were then a nation of wandering shepherds, and feudal freebooters. The English *pale* extended but to a few counties immediately round Dublin; all without were excluded from the benefit of the English laws and protection. On the confines of the pale, and in the English *marches*, a continual warfare was carried on between the natives and the settlers; but in these petty contests there was little of that chivalrous spirit which distinguished our Scottish borderers. Neither in prose or verse could the history of these marauders be told with grace or dignity. Spenser, however, gives an entertaining account of their septs and clans, their Brehon laws, their *Boolies*, their *Cosheerings*, their *Stucas*, their long mantles, and their saffron-coloured linen. The methods which he proposed for the civilization of the Irish, were the abrogation of the Brehon, and the adoption of the English laws; the dispersing English soldiers and settlers over the country to overawe the rebellious, and to induce the well-disposed to imitate examples of better modes of life: He recommended also the establishing of garrisons and magazines for corn, and the building of villages, and country schools near every parish church for the instruction of the common people.

Sir John Davies, who wrote but a few years after Spenser died, gives a similar account of the country; but adds, in his '*Progress through the Wastes and wildest Parts of the Kingdom*,' and in his History of the settlement in Ulster, an interesting view of the efforts made to accelerate the progress of civilization, and the success with which these judicious attempts were attended. The right claimed by the soldiers, to take at will, from the peasantry, man's meat, and horse's meat, and even money; the *damnable* custom (as Sir John justly styles it) of coin and livery, a custom 'which, established in hell, as it was in Ireland, would have overturned the kingdom of Beelzebub,' was abolished. The pernicious customs of tanistry and gavel-kind, by which the descent of property was rendered uncertain, and its subdivision an encouragement to idleness, were now broken through. The lands were set, and their descent established according to the actual English law. The Brehon laws were altogether abrogated, and something like a rational and equal administration of justice commenced. The number of judges of assize were increased, and they went regular circuits through the kingdom; 'whereas the circuits, in former times, went but round about the pale, like the circle of the cynosura about the pole. Trials by jury were instituted; but Sir John observes,

observes, that 'many of the poor people were very unwilling to be sworn of the juries, lest, if they condemned any man, his friends, in revenge, should rob, or burn, or kill them for it; the like mischief having happened to divers jurors since the last session holden there.'

Sir John Davies, who shows himself a true friend to Ireland, made efforts, in this *Progress*, to inquire into the state of the church lands and benefices; 'but my lords the bishops were not well pleased that laymen should intermeddle with these things, and did ever answer, Let us alone with that business. Take you no care of that.' The churches were miserably out of repair: such as were got up for presentation only thatched; and, says Sir John, 'the poor vicars that came to our camp were most ragged, ignorant creatures, not worthy of the meanest of their livings, though those were many of them but of 40s. *per annum*.' The non-residence of the protestant bishops was much complained of: and a proverb is quoted, which was frequently in the mouth of one of the greatest of these prelates, 'That an Irish priest is no better than a milch cow.'

Davies, as well as the great Bacon, had sagacity enough to predict, that unless measures of liberal policy were adopted for the government of the country, 'Ireland *civil* would become more dangerous than Ireland *savage*.' What Davies could, he did; and what he could not effect, he suggested. He obtained amnesties for the offences of the rebels who returned to their allegiance; remission of old debts and quit-rents due to the crown: he obliterated, as far as possible, the remembrance of antient feuds and party distinctions; restrained the excesses of the soldiery; and, besides establishing a regular administration of justice, did his utmost to obtain some education for the poor of the country.

Of the progress of civilization in Ireland after his time, and of the steps by which it was retarded or advanced, we have no distinct view. There have, indeed, appeared voluminous pamphlets, professing to treat of the state of that country; but these relate chiefly to party questions. Arthur Young's Tour has been much and deservedly applauded as a faithful and lively picture of that kingdom when he saw it; but that was nearly thirty years ago. Much remains to be learned; and we therefore opened with eagerness a new tour through Ireland, which we hoped would represent to us Ireland as it was, and as it is. But, alas! we were miserably disappointed. We found Mr Carr's quarto, a book of stale jests, and fulsome compliments. All the old stories of bulls and blunders, which, as we are informed, have for years past been regularly brought forward for the recreation of every new lord-lieutenant and his secretary, are here collected for the edification of the

the public. The Stranger in Ireland was, it seems, upon his arrival, bountifully supplied, by the hospitable Hibernians, with all the *good things* in which that convivial nation abounds. With a little more taste and judgment, he might have arranged these so as to afford agreeable entertainment to his readers; but, to save himself the trouble of thought or arrangement, he has emptied and overwhelmed us with his common-place book. For one beauty this work is indeed eminently distinguished—for the beauty of contrast; the species of contrast which results from want of order, where grave and gay, just and absurd, fine and vulgar, sublime and ludicrous, succeed each other, so as to create in the highest degree the pleasure of *unexpectedness*. This pleasure, indeed, gradually abates as we proceed; for we are at length taught to expect the recurrence of these strange figures, which come round and round again like the pictures in a Savoyard's magic-lantern; whilst the same tone of a show-man, kept up incessantly, must at last weary the most enduring ear. Let no impatient reader of this volume resort to the index in hopes of skipping with celerity and advantage. The table of contents will rather mislead than direct; it will entice him on, and leave him disappointed and provoked. The knack of giving *good* heads to chapters has been carried to a high and treacherous state of perfection. We are often cheated into reading a stupid chapter, as we are entrapped in the newspapers by the beginning of some paragraph, apparently about Newton or Buffon,—about some new discovery in optics, or natural history, which proves in the end nothing more than a lottery advertisement. Our author's table of contents may be most inviting to the large tribe of anecdote-mongers and desultory readers; but surely, numerous as they are, their taste should not have been exclusively consulted, to the utter neglect of the interests of purchasers, who set some little value upon their money or their time.

Besides being disappointed in the solid contents, we were disgusted with the manner of this book. It is worse written than any of Mr Carr's former tours. The style is both careless and affected, trivial and inflated; his fine sentences are sometimes without meaning, and often without grammar; and his high-flown descriptions, which are neither prose nor poetry, frequently terminate in striking instances of the bathos. For example, take the following account of his arrival at Killarney.

'The evening, shrouded in black clouds charged with rain, rapidly set in; the wind roared; and only the light-blue smoke of the cabin relieved the universally deep embrowned sterility of the scene. *In these and most other districts the milk of sheep is used.*

His description of Mucross-Abbey is not inferior.

'The graceful ruins of Mucross-Abbey on our right, half embosomed

somed in a group of luxuriant and stately trees, *influenced, as soon as seen, the bridles of our horses.*'

It is a pity that our tourist, before he began to describe Killarney, had not attended to the monition of a celebrated author, who thus writeth:

'I have at length seen what I have long wished to see,—this wondrous lake! To attempt to describe it, would require the ablest of the antient poets, or of modern poets; wherefore I shall never attempt it.'*

Though we regret that Mr Carr did not attend to this dissuasive paragraph, yet we do not accuse him of being ignorant of the merits of the performance in which it is contained; for his style frequently reminds us of the manner of the author to whom it is attributed,—the celebrated George Falkener. In his peculiar use of pronouns, in his heterogeneous anecdotes, and in his mode of dragging into a sentence a multitude of words and ideas foreign to the principal purpose, Mr Carr is not inferior to this great original; the resemblance of style is indeed so striking, that we should almost suspect him of studied imitation. We shall select a few parallel passages.

Mr Carr says,

'I cannot help gratifying my readers in this stage of our tour with the result of an active and anxious inquiry, which I made of the existence of a custom in some parts of Ireland, equally cruel and impolitic, &c. It is with real pleasure that I have it in my power, upon the authority of several gentlemen of great respectability residing in various parts of Ireland, to state, that at this day *the custom of ploughing and harrowing by the horse's tail* does not exist. Long since, it shocked the humanity and excited the interference of the legislature; for I find that, in the year 1634, when Lord Strafford was lord-deputy, an act was passed against this cruel usage.'

Mr Falkener said before him,

'The Irish formerly *ploughed by the tail with bullocks.* But upon Dr Swift's voyage to the Houynhams being published, and his saying so much in praise of horses, this barbarous, horrid, atrocious, shocking, detestable, cruel, nefarious custom, was abolished by act of Parliament. See an abridgement of the Irish *statutes*, sold by me in Parliament Street.'

Carr

informs us, 'that *Ceres* bears a strong affinity to the Irish word *Cuirim*, or *Cairim*, to sow or plant; and that *Treabtalamh*, a plougher of the earth, is not unlike *Triptolemus*.'

Falkener.

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* The Epistle to Gorges Edmond Howard, Esq. with notes by George Falkener, Esq., was the production of Hussey Burgh Jephson, and some other wits, during the administration of Lord Townsend in Ireland.

FALKENER,

more modest than Carr in his pretensions, claims only the improvement of the plough for the Irish.

'Ploughs are an instrument for turning up the earth, first invented by Triptolemus, a near relation of the goddess Ceres, and afterwards much improved by Mr John Wynne, baker, of the Dublin Society.'

Again, our authors have a coincidence of thought and expression on the happy subject of bulls.

CARR.

'An Irishman and a bull form a twain thought in an Englishman's mind; long and inveterate prejudices have made them as inseparable in reflection as a bull and his horns. I went to France in the full persuasion of seeing a race of lean men, and found them of the ordinary size and stature; and many of them of a bulk and vigour that an untravelled Englishman would reluctantly give credit to.—I went to Ireland, expecting a bull to fly out of every Irishman's mouth every third time he spoke. That the lower classes make bulls, I believe, because I have been well informed that they do, and because the lower classes of other countries make them also.'

George Falkener, who was as tender upon the subject of blundering, and as zealous for the honour of the Irish as Mr Carr seems to be, volunteered in their defence; and, as Mr Carr jumbles together the French and Irish in his vindication, Mr Falkener, with equal propriety, drags the Germans and Irish into the same exculpatory paragraph.

'The Germans, are in general, supposed to be a proud people.—Julius Cæsar and Mr Nugent gave them this character; but the Irish are very unjustly charged with a talent of blundering; but it is well known that the people express themselves in their native tongue, the English, with more perspicuity and precision. The Dean of St Patrick was of this opinion, who, though born and bred in England, always declared himself, when sober, to be an Irishman.'

At Cork we expected some good jokes; because Mr Falkener, to whose authority we may refer with implicit confidence, informs us, that Attica was called the Cork of Greece. Accordingly, we find that our traveller's taste for wit improved as he approached Cork. As he was going up a hill, having humanely helped a carrier to reload his car, the witty native thanked him in the following attic manner.

'Ah, may your Honour live long, very long!'

The brilliancy of this repartee is to be equalled only by the Kerry postilion's wit, thus recorded page 175.

'Your Honour'—said our driver, upon our observing that one of his horses plunged—'that mare is always very *uneasy* in going down hill.'

From these bon-mots, and from the various anecdotes of King Donahue—Lord Castlereagh and his young friend Sturrock—the immaculate

immaculate St Bridget—Carrolan and Miss Bridget Cruise—that celebrated antiquarian Mr Grose and the butcher—Lord Avonmore and the calf—from these, and a thousand more,

'Ah! dread the thousand still unnamed behind!'

we are convinced that Mr Carr has the same indefatigable taste for collecting anecdotes of celebrated characters, for which Mr Falkener was distinguished. In zeal, Mr Carr is equal to his master, but not in prudence, nor in that 'first and greatest art, the art to blot,' as will appear by the following.

FALKENER.

'I undertook a journey to London to collect materials for the life of Mr John Dryden, a poet well known in the reign of Charles the Second; but, after remaining there three months for this purpose, I could only learn that he was accustomed to sit in a big chair among the wits at Button's; and this, my friends telling me, not being sufficient for a life of said poet, I accordingly discontinued it. I also begun a life of the Dean of St Patrick's, in a style which was much admired, and equal to the fine simplicity of the Greeks, and the Dean himself, which I began in this manner—'Dean Swift was a man who had wax in his ears.'—I am in possession of many other anecdotes known to no person now living; and when they are completed, it will be published by me and my executors in Parliament-Street.'

In Mr Carr's eagerness to introduce specimens of the poetical talents of his friends, and in the judgment with which he selects, we must admit that he is superior even to his prototype. Allowing, however, for the difference between the tragic and comic muses, they may be fairly set in competition with each other.

CARR.

'The following beautiful lines from the pen of that distinguished man, whose versatility of genius is the astonishment and admiration of all who have been within the range of it, Curran, will prove how the mourning muse can affect in Ireland.'

On seeing the Funeral of the Rev. Alexander Lamelliere.

By John Philpot Curran, Esq.

'For see, beneath that sable pall,
Extended on that bier,
Lie the remains, the earthly all
Of youthful Lamelliere.

But none, oh Death! thy pow'r can fly:
In vain we shed the tear;
We know 'tis vain; yet every eye
Must weep for Lamelliere.

So will we think on Lamelliere;
Recal his precepts sweet;
His name shall to our hearts be dear,
While mem'ry holds her seat.'—&c.

There

There are eleven more of these mortuary stanzas, of equal merit with the above.

FALKENER.

'The Reverend Dr Clarke, Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, hath a very fine taste for poetry, which plainly appeared by the specimen annexed, as it was first published.'

On a Lady's forgetting her Riding Hat.
By the Rev. Dr Clarke, when Vice-Provost, &c.

'Fair Anna had no heart to give,
So left her head behind.
Bright Mina, on whose smiles I live,
Was not by half so kind.

Both head and heart she with her brought,
And both she took away,
And with her carried all she caught,
That's all that gaz'd that day.'

Mr Carr is not merely the eulogist of wits and poets: every man he meets is well-bred, witty, eloquent, generous, admired, or at least well-known; every lady, of course, is fair and elegant, accomplished, amiable, graceful, enchanting, perfectly well informed, or distinguished for talents. He is the most courteous, and the most fortunate of travellers: he wins his easy way from house to house, and leaves, at every hospitable mansion, according to the custom of antient Irish bards, a *planxty*, celebrating the virtues, charms, or high descent of the hostess. Far be it from us to censure the generous overflowings of gratitude: but we must own, that our author has, on some occasions, startled our Scotish notions of economy, by the profuseness of his remuneration for trifling civilities. For instance, is he not, even at his first setting out, rather too lavish in payment for a few slices of broiled mutton, when he vows—'*upon the cabin-table* of the Holyhead Packet, to tell every one, who might ever read him, that he was relieved from the "*gloomy dilemma*" (of hunger) by a *lady of fashion*, an Irish woman, and a poetess,—the *accomplished* and *elegant* authoress of several *charming* poems, and particularly some *beautiful well-known* lines'—which we forbear to quote?

As it is easy, on every occasion, to pour forth, fresh from the mint, supplies of the 'aerial coin' of praise, there can be no danger of a bankruptcy in the complimentary line of business; but is there not reason to apprehend, that an immoderate issue may depreciate the value of the coin, and destroy the currency of the tokens? Indiscriminate praise, like indiscriminate satire, destroys its own purpose. In Mr Carr's tour, there are no less than 88 pages of quotation, one sixth of the whole quarto: these quotations

quotations contain many specimens of the wit and eloquence of Curran, Kirwan, and Grattan. The rage for reading every thing that has been written, said or thought, by celebrated characters, now exposes all distinguished persons to the danger of having every careless word, which escapes them in private conversation, conn'd, and set down in a note-book, thence to be transferred to the *anas* of the anecdote-monger, or the quartos of the fashionable tourist. Literary legacy-hunters now display the most indecent anticipation of their expected gains: not content with the hopes of what may come to their share after the death of their friend or patron, they take possession of his spoils during his lifetime; and he has the misery of seeing his reputation torn to pieces, without the power to defend himself,—without even the consolation of complaint; for all this is done with a profusion of compliments, and with the best intentions imaginable. A man may resent the malice of an enemy; but what remedy has he against the kindness of a friend? According to the different nature of their talents, the victims suffer in different proportions. The man of wit is least aggrieved. 'Whoever,' says Dr Johnson, 'tries to recommend Shakespeare, by select quotations, will succeed like the pedant in Hierocles, who, when he offered his house to sale, carried a brick in his pocket as a specimen.' Of the talents of the brickmaker, we can judge, however, in some degree, by the single brick. A bon-mot is a good thing by itself; a *whole*, from which we can form some judgment of the wit: but the orator is the sufferer by this retail trade. A stroke of eloquence, a simile, or an illusion, lose half their power, and all their beauty, when taken out of their proper place, and deprived of introduction and accompaniment. Whoever has been accustomed to attend to public oratory, must know how much of its effect depends upon the time and place, upon contrast, and upon the connexion of the parts of an harangue: none of these can appear in the insulated sentences, which our collector obtrudes upon our attention, and from which we are perversely inclined to withhold admiration, because it is imperiously demanded. The reader is disposed to be displeased, when all exercise of his judgment is in a despotic manner precluded by such titles to paragraphs as the following.

'Exquisite ironical humour.—Fine description of an informer.—Striking specimens of eloquence and style in writing.'

It is but justice to Mr Carr to display some of his best anecdotes, which we shall do, without prejudicing the reader against them by exaggerated epithets of praise.

P. 41.—'The dress of the beggars in Dublin is deplorably filthy, and induced a wit to say, that he never knew what the beggars in London

London did with their cast clothes, till he found that they were sold to the Dublin beggars.'

P. 84.—'It was upon the steps of this place (the General Post-Office in Dublin) that Curran and Lord —— were standing, when the latter, who had voted for the Union, as he looked towards the late Parliament-House, which was then in a forlorn state of mutilation, observed—"How shocking our old Parliament-House looks, Curran!" To which the witty barrister finely replied—"True, my Lord; it is usual for murderers to be afraid of ghosts."

P. 206.—'A Viceroy of Ireland asked one of his chaplains, "Why there were no toads in Ireland?" To which he replied—"Because, your excellency, there are so many *toad-eaters.*"

'I must not omit to say, that General Doyle has ascribed a new animal to Ireland. Upon a traveller's telling him that he had been in a country where the bugs were so large and powerful, that two of them would drain a man's blood in one night, the General wittily replied, "My good Sir, we have the same animals in Ireland, but they are there called by another name, they are called *hum-bugs.*"

P. 437.—Mr Carr relates an anecdote of an Irish dragoon, which is highly honourable to his country: but we refer to it, instead of extracting it, because we think it will appear to most advantage in the work itself.

We extract the following passages, not only as favourable specimens of the author's manner, but as just representations of the Irish, and as slight circumstances from which the politician and philosopher may draw some important conclusions.

'The next morning I attended the quarter-sessions (at Killarney) at which a barrister presided. At this meeting, the character of the people was strictly developed. The greatest good humour prevailed in the court, which was a large naked room, with a quantity of turf piled up in one corner of it. Every face looked animated; scarcely any decorum was kept; but justice was expeditiously, and I believe substantially, administered by the barrister, who is addressed by that name, and who appeared to be perfectly competent to the discharge of his judicial duties. He was elevated above the rest. A fellow, like every one of his countrymen in or out of court, loving law to his soul, projected himself too forward to hear a cause which was proceeding: the officer of the court, who, like the bell in Peeping Tom of Coventry, made a horrible noise by endeavouring to keep silence, struck this anxious unlucky wight a blow on the head with a long pole, almost sufficiently forcible to have felled an ox: the fellow rubbed his head: all the assembly broke out in a loud laugh, in which the object of their mirth could not resist joining. Instead of counsel, solicitors pleaded: one of them was examining a rustic, a witness on behalf of his client, when I entered: the poor fellow suffered answers, unfavourable to the party for whom he appeared, to escape him; upon which, after half a dozen imprecations, the solicitor threw the testament on which he had been

sworn at his head; a second laugh followed; another fellow swore backwards and forewards ten times in as many minutes; and whenever he was detected in the most abominable perjury, the auditory was thrown into convulsions of merriment. The barrister held in his hands, not the scales of justice, but a little brass machine for weighing shillings, similar to that which I described to have been used by my fair glover in Dublin, and which was in frequent requisition upon the judicial seat, for ascertaining the due weight of fees paid into court;—another proof of the injurious effects of the wretched state of the circulating medium! The day before, a young nobleman, whose political genius and unblemished integrity have been since so brilliantly brought forward, by the demise of one of the most incorruptible and eloquent, though not the most successful of ministers, was seated on the bench, for the purpose of observing the habits of the people: I allude to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Henry Petty. His presence was regarded as a flattering compliment; but whether it kept those sons of drollery and mirth in better order, I know not.

'When his Lordship was present, a culprit was sentenced to three months imprisonment: as he was conducted out of court, the fellow said, "By Jasus, it is all owing to his Lordship, long life to him; if he had not been there, I know the barrister, as worthy a gentleman as ever lived, would only have sentenced me for a fortnight; but he thought, as the young Lord was there, if he had let me off more aisy, he would not have been thought to have done his duty; and there it is."

Another quarter-session at Cork attracted our author's attention; and his account of it deserves to be recorded, as corroborative evidence of the assertion, that the lower Irish are proud of their talents for litigation, and not yet ashamed of those habits of jocular perjury, in which they have been encouraged, rather than discountenanced, by the higher classes, who treat such faults in these poor ignorant people as matter of merriment and ridicule, and not with reprobation and abhorrence. 'On ne se guerit pas d'un defaut, qui plait.'

'In the course of my rambles, I was attracted by a crowd upon some steps, and found that the quarter-sessions were holding. I entered a dismal hall, where an assistant barrister presided: the same merry noise and confusion prevailed here as at Killarney. I found a wild Irishman, a facetious fellow, upon the table, seated in a chair, and under examination, attended by an interpreter. "D'ye know" said the examining solicitor (who officiated as council) "the traversers in the Dock?" "And plaze you, I know them both by what I have heard," was the answer.—[a loud laugh.]—The following question produced one of the most favourite figures of speech amongst the low Irish. "Well, Sir, did he confess at all?" Answer. "Plaze your honour, he would not confess a h'a'porth;" *i. e.* the worth of a halfpenny. "I know you well," said one of the Jury to another witness. "Oh plaze you," said

said the witness, "you never knew me but out of honesty."—[Another laugh.]—This fellow contradicted himself many times; but always with so much humour, that the gravest judge could scarcely have preserved a due solemnity of face. So naturally disposed are the lower orders to drollery, that I found perjury, if it had any thing of humour in it, seemed to be stripped of all its culpability. The government has acted wisely, in appointing gentlemen regularly bred to the law to preside in these courts, who are capable, by habits of investigation, of discerning truth, however deeply concealed, and who know the genius and condition of the people thoroughly. Amidst all this facetious prevarication and smiling confusion, I was assured, from very good authority, and in the causes to which I fixed my attention I found it to be so, that justice was fairly administered. At the same time, I think, the amelioration of the lower people demands, that wherever a perversion of truth, under the solemn obligation of an oath, appears, however calculated, by attendant specious wit and humour, to disarm severity, it ought to excite the strongest animadversion of the Bench; which, I am convinced, from the uncommon acute sensibility of the lower people, would speedily cover the crime with ignominy.'

We perfectly agree with our author in the opinion, that some reform is much wanted in this mode of administering justice in Ireland. He was fortunate in seeing assistant barristers, who did honour to the choice of government, by maintaining *some* decorum in their courts. But the integrity or abilities of those individuals to whom power is delegated, cannot, in the judgment of a good legislator, be any excuse for the imprudence, or any compensation for the hazard, of entrusting it to them without proper restrictions. All who know how much of human virtue depends upon situation or institution, would not wish to place others, or to be placed themselves, in circumstances where their passions and interests must give them continual temptations to swerve from their duty, and where they have frequent opportunities of doing wrong, without much danger of reprehension. An assistant barrister is a newly created officer of justice, still unknown in Great Britain. Lately, the Crown has appointed, for each county in Ireland, a barrister of five years standing, to aid, in difficult cases, the justices at sessions. Though it is particularly provided by Parliament, that these assistants should not arrogate place or precedency, they have, notwithstanding, in most counties, assumed preeminence; and, in consequence, the old magistrates and principal gentry of the country frequently absent themselves. To their former office as assistants, there has lately been added an important and highly useful jurisdiction, —a commission to try causes of civil contract to the amount of ten pounds. Causes of this description, *triable* under the *Civil Bill Act*, are numerous in Ireland, and formerly took up an unreason-

able portion of the time and attention of the Judges of assize. They are now tried at sessions; and there is reason to believe that justice is at present equitably and expeditiously administered. But it would surely be more decorous to have the civil business carried on, as at assizes, in one court, whilst the criminal business proceeds in another. The assistance of the barrister, sitting as judge in the civil court, would always be at hand to expound the law for the benefit of the country gentlemen; and some little importance would still be left to that useful, necessary, and constitutional body of magistrates, who distribute justice without salaries, or without any reward but the sense of fulfilling their duty; when we say without reward, we speak of country magistrates, who seldom accept of shillings and sixpences for summonses and warrants. It is dangerous to encroach upon constituted authorities; and although it is said, with some truth, and with some satire, that nothing is well done in Britain that is done for nothing, we must still look back with reverence to our earliest institutions,—to a period which, amidst barbarous manners, established the foundations of our admirable constitution. We should speak with deference upon a subject where our information is not perhaps sufficient; but we have been assured that assistant barristers in Ireland are permitted to plead as counsel at assizes, in the very counties where they preside at sessions. Does it never happen, that he who has been judge at the sessions, becomes an advocate at the assizes in the same cause? Have opulent or powerful clients no influence in such delicate situations? Do party prejudices and electioneering politics produce no bias? It would be easy to obviate all suspicion, by making it a rule, that assistant barristers should never be appointed to act in the counties where their own property lies, and that they should never plead as lawyers in the counties where they act as judges at sessions. Any increase of salary which may be necessary to remunerate these gentlemen for these privations, will be money well bestowed, as it will materially improve the administration of this branch of justice in Ireland.

Mr Carr rises above himself, when inspired with eloquence by virtuous indignation at the sight of the horrible state of the House of Industry in Limerick. He speaks of it as an eyewitness; we cannot therefore doubt the facts. They are a disgrace to that city. The manner in which they are now described by a popular writer, will probably promote the correction of these abuses. If this prophecy should prove true, we shall rejoice that Mr Carr has written this quarto: and, from the benevolence apparent in all this gentleman's writings, we are convinced, that the consciousness of having obtained a material benefit for his fellow-creatures, would

would amply repay him for all the pains and penalties of authorship.

The account of the Dublin House of Industry confirms us in an opinion, which we have long entertained, and which cannot be more concisely expressed than in the words of our judicious countryman Dr Gray,* 'Fields of industry are better than houses of industry.' What avail houses of industry, and orphan houses, and parish schools, to mend the morals of the people of Dublin, when in one street alone there are fifty-two houses licensed to sell spirits! 'That a revenue derived from such a source should be an object worthy of encouragement, it is impossible to believe,' says Mr Carr. 'It might as well impose a tax upon coffins, and inoculate all its subjects with the plague.'

The chief part of the information in Mr Carr's book, is comprised in the last chapter, entitled, 'General Remarks.' Amongst other serious topics, he there adverts to the state of education in Ireland. Upon this subject he speaks liberally, though in rather too high-flown language.

'Education,' says he, 'has never beamed on the poor Irishman; sentiments of honour have never been instilled into him; and a spirit of just and social pride, improvement and enterprize, have never opened upon him. The poor Irishman looks around him, and sees a frightful void between him and those who, in well regulated communities, ought to be separated from each other only by those gentle shades of colouring that unite the brown russet to the imperial purple. He has no more power of raising himself, than an eagle whose wings have been half shorn of their plumage. The Legislature has rarely noticed him but in anger,—when that ignorance, which it has never stooped to remove, has precipitated him into acts incompatible with social tranquillity, and repugnant to his nature.'

We learn with great satisfaction, that since the above was written, a Board of Education has been appointed in Ireland, composed of men of character, talents, rank, fortune and popularity. From their united efforts, their country has much to expect. They are to inquire into the state of the schools in Ireland; and we hope that they will endeavour to establish a good system of instruction for the lower classes of the people. By instruction, we do not mean merely reading, writing, and arithmetic; in these, if we have not been misinformed, the lower Irish are sufficiently well taught, even in their *hedge-schools*, (which, by the by, might with more propriety be called *ditch*-schools.) In arithmetic, especially, the boys are said to be wonderfully expert. We are told that, in a great public charity in

* Essential Principles of the Wealth of Nations illustrated, &c.

XUM

Dublin, and in parts of Armagh, writing and arithmetic have been long since taught by Mr Lancaster's method. The Irish learn, whatever they wish to learn, quickly, and with the greatest facility. But it is in moral instruction that they are deficient; and to raise a demand for this, and to administer it properly, are the great difficulties. It will be no easy task to breed up children to have totally different habits and principles from their parents, without destroying that filial and parental affection, which is the great bond of society, and without which no national education can be fundamentally good or permanent. It will be no easy task to change the associations of pleasure, pride and mirth, which the Irish children early form, with the ideas of cheating, stealing, prevaricating and lying. To convince their understandings that honesty is the best policy, and that their duty to God and their neighbour is likewise their duty to themselves, might be easily accomplished; but the moral demonstration would have no more effect on their conduct, than any of the demonstrations of the missionaries at Otaheite, unless their associations and habits were changed by some strong or constant motives.

To substitute the sturdy pride of plaindealing, for the delight of successful cunning, must be a work of time, especially where the people are, from their poverty and *subordinate* situation, continually tempted to deceive; and where party-politics and religious prejudices incline a vast proportion of the population to consider the remainder as fair game for flattery and deception. We agree with Mr Carr in the manly opinion which he has well expressed, that

'Nothing but a frank and liberal system of education, which shall be wholly free from the *suspicion* of aiming at religious conversion, directly or indirectly, can promote the great object of enlightening the poorer classes of society in Ireland.'

All our author says about *proselytism* is excellent; we consider it as by far the most valuable part of the book: and from 'a stranger in Ireland,' we hope that it will not shock any individuals, but that it may produce its just effect upon the good sense of all parties. Mr Carr pays a tribute, and, as we are assured, a well merited tribute of approbation to the ladies of Ireland, for their benevolent indefatigable exertions to improve the education of the poor children in their country. He mentions several well-conducted schools under the patronage, and, what is much better than the patronage, under the daily superintendance, of ladies in every respect qualified for the task. From these schools we may reasonably hope salutary and immediate effects. From a board of education we can expect only well digested plans, which, if steadily pursued, may in time produce a general change in the habits

habits of the people. We hope that it will not be thought to arise from national partiality, if we advert to the state of education in our own country, and if we say that Ireland may look with advantage to North Britain, for an example of the success which rewards the labour and expense bestowed on national instruction.

Our author writes judiciously against *eleemosynary* education. He justly observes, that it would be better to accept of sixpence per annum as payment, than to offer instruction gratis: in all countries, and particularly in Ireland, the pride of parents and children would revolt from the idea of suing for education *in formâ pauperis.* This is an honest pride, for which nothing half so good can be substituted by charity or ostentation. We hope, as Mr Carr does, that the poor laws and poor rates of England may never be introduced into Ireland.

Page 519.—Mr Carr has fallen into one of those common prejudices, which usually ensnare the hunter after popular discontents. He inveighs bitterly against a race of farmers, who have obtained the name of Middlemen, from their holding an interest in lands between the proprietor and the terre-tenant. Every tyro in political economy, who has read Smith's Wealth of Nations, should know the utility of factors in all mercantile transactions. And in what does a middleman differ from a factor? He collects the value of the produce, and pays it to a land merchant at home, or exports it to a land merchant abroad. A nobleman or gentleman, who lets land for one, or for several years, does nothing more than sell raw materials to a manufacturer; and the middleman is a merchant or factor, who buys the raw material wholesale, and retails it to the workmen. When this process is omitted, the landlord is obliged to employ deputies or agents, who are not connected with the under tenant by any common tie of interest. The agent's business is to collect the growing income at stated periods, and in as short a time as possible. He either goes or sends a clerk on a certain day to receive the rents of an estate. Whoever is not ready on the appointed day, is distrained. Upon a second failure, the tenant is ejected; a new one is easily procured; and after every thing which the tenant possessed has been disposed of, an increase of rent, sufficient to liquidate the former loss, is added to the new bargain. Thus, the agent is a greater oppressor than the middleman. Where middlemen are interposed, the profit made by the agent falls to their share. It is true, that they let the lands at the highest price; but they must bear the loss, if the tenant fails; and, knowing this, they are interested in every loss or gain that happens to

their subtenant. The middleman is, like the doctor, desirous of gain; but it is never his interest to destroy the patient. Wherever large capital is deficient, the system of middlemen *must* prevail. In the time of Jack Cade's rebellion, the same complaint against monopolizers of land was the watchword of his adherents; and so late as the reign of Elizabeth, there was a similar cry in England against engrossing farms. But till capital has been collected by numbers, numbers cannot enter into competition for farms; the large capitalists alone can stock them; and the under tenants must be dependent upon such farmers for the small portions of land, which, in Ireland, supply them with the means of existence. Our author despatches, in two sentences, that great question in political economy, what is the best food for the poor? We shall here only put in our caveat against the peremptory manner in which it is decided. Whoever has seriously considered the subject, and has read what has been written by Malthus on population, and by Selkirk on emigration, will not lightly hazard a decision. The Irishman's reply to Mr Carr's enquiry into the cause of the great population of Ireland, deserves a serious investigation. 'By Jasus, Sir, it's all the potato.'

Either we are misinformed, or Mr Carr is strangely mistaken with regard to the average price of labour in Ireland, which he states at 18d. per day. This appeared such an extraordinary assertion, that we were at the trouble of looking over the whole book to verify our reference, which at last we found (page 505.) In our search, we discovered the cause of his mistake. He had learned (page 419), that the price of labour, *near Cork*, is 16d. or 18d., which is certainly not a high rate in the neighbourhood of the second city in Ireland: but to call this the average price of labour through the kingdom, is a gross error. Such careless assertions we deem most unpardonable blunders; because they mislead all who attempt to reason upon such false *data*. For instance, how could Malthus himself reconcile the wretchedness of superabundant population with such high wages of labour, and such low price of provisions, as Mr Carr has stated? We are well assured, that the average wages of labour in Ireland do not amount to half the sum which he has mentioned. Those who make a tour through a country, see objects in a new, and often in a more entertaining point of view, than persons whose long residence in the country have rendered most objects familiar; but, on certain points, we can hope to obtain accurate information from those only who have lived in the country, and who, in their political and economical observations, have taken time into the account.

Mr

Mr Carr has, with much address, evaded the discussion of many questions on which parties run high in Ireland; by this policy he probably hopes to be favourably judged by both sides. But it should not be the prime object of a man of talents to steal into popularity: his pride should be, to stand forward in the cause of truth, to do his utmost to serve his fellow-creatures; disdaining the clamours of ignorance and prejudice, secure of his reward from the good and wise; or, if disappointed of this honest fame, able to rest satisfied with his own approbation. There is a fashion amongst many well-meaning timid persons, of avoiding to speak upon what are called *dangerous* subjects; as if the danger were created by inquiring into the means of defence; or as if it could be dissipated by pretending that it does not exist. Talk of danger, and it will appear,—seems to be the maxim of this childish superstition.

Every body knows, that there have been insurrections and rebellions in Ireland: that in 1796, nothing but the dispersion of the French fleet by a storm saved that kingdom from conquest: that, in 1798, the plot by which the city of Dublin was to have been *revolutionized*, was not discovered or counteracted, till a few hours before the moment appointed for its execution: that, in the same year, an inconsiderable French force effected an invasion of Ireland, were joined by numbers of the natives, and penetrated to the centre of the island: that, in 1803, a nobleman, high in office, and of most respectable character, was assassinated in the metropolis; and that, by this premature murder, in which the rabble indulged themselves contrary to the wishes and orders of their leaders, the plan of another insurrection was disconcerted.

But these are things of which the timid will not speak, and of which the foolhardy will not think. The rash do yet more mischief in politics than the timorous: they will not suffer you to believe that danger ever exists, notwithstanding the most alarming symptoms; and they consider it as a proof of want of courage, or want of loyalty, to suspect, that things which have been so lately, may recur.

'Ireland,' say they, 'is now perfectly quiet; and it is ridiculous and wicked to suppose, that it will ever again be in a state of disturbance. There have been Thrashers, to be sure, within these few months in that kingdom; but these were honest, poor, ignorant fellows, who had no bad designs: they collected in large bodies, to be sure, went about at night armed, to administer unlawful oaths; but the Thrashers' oath was merely not to pay tithes to proctors, and to obey Captain Thrasher; but nobody knew who this captain was, so that the oath was of no consequence. And those who refused to take it, were only dragged

dragged out of their beds and ducked; or delivered over to Captain Carder, to have their backs *carded,* (that is, flayed with a steel instrument used in dressing flax.)

'But all this was done with jollity,
Midnight shouts and revelry.'

'And these political maskers were all in fancy dresses; white caps on their heads, and white shirts over their clothes; some over uniforms, it is said;—but no harm was done. Besides, their cause was so popular, that most of the middling farmers favoured them, and many of the thinking men approved of the end, and objected only to the means. Now, however, the whole affair is settled by special commission; the poor wretches, who have been tried and condemned, have suffered, and are a sufficient warning to the rest; *though* they have been generally pitied, because it was obvious that they were merely tools in the hands of others, and actually did not know what they were about. At all events the country is now perfectly quiet; and we may all sleep in peace.'

Yes!—sleep in peace, like the rash fools who sleep at the foot of Mount Vesuvius—secure, because, say they, there has been lately an eruption of the mountain, and, may be, there will not be another in our times.

It is in vain to palter and palliate. Ireland never will be perfectly safe, till the causes of discontent among the great body of the people are removed. Complete *Catholic emancipation,* as it is called, should be granted to them; nothing less will do. As to the right, the arguments in favour of the abolition of the slave-trade are not more clear, than those in favour of the Catholic emancipation. But as to the expediency,—it is alleged, if we grant the Catholics this, they will ask more. *Then* it will be time to refuse; but the surmise that people will encroach, is no argument against granting them their rights. Expediency can never permanently stand against justice. And after all this, expediency exists merely in imagination. Popery is a mere bugbear. The fear of a Catholic interest in a British parliament is absurd. The Catholic gentry in Ireland, of property sufficient to become members of the senate, are few, compared with the Protestants; and, what is of more consequence, their interests are the same as those of the Protestants. Their property is subject to the same danger from invasion or insurrection. The old claims to forfeited Irish estates could never be substantiated, without despoiling the present opulent Catholics. Property against numbers, is a contest decidedly in favour of property, as long as the possessors of property manage their advantages with prudence: but oppression makes the danger which it fears.

The Irish Catholics, *upon their taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy,* should, in their political rights, be put exactly on a footing

footing with all the other subjects of the empire; and should be relieved from the burthen of tithes paid to ministers from whom they receive no instruction. Might not their priests, too, be paid by government? They would then be properly dependent. The late grant to the College of Maynooth, for the education of Catholics, is liberal and prudent. It is to be hoped, however, that that college is subject to frequent visitations. We should know what books are put into the hands of the students; not with a view of interfering in the least with religious tenets, but to secure some pledge that the youth are properly educated. In all other colleges, the *course* is universally known. With these precautions, and with this just toleration, all the lower classes of the Catholic religion in Ireland would be safe and good subjects; not only when English troops are in the country, but in all circumstances. In case of an invasion, it would not be their interest to join the enemy. It is a common Irish proverb, that 'those who are upon the ground can go no lower.' Raise them, and their fear of falling begins to operate. In most countries, the lowest class of the people is in the situation of the ass in the fable, caring not who is master, since he must always carry his paniers; but the ass ceases to be in this, his usual state of neutrality, if his paniers be too heavily laden, and if he have hopes that his new master will lighten his burden.

Independently of all that can be done by the Legislature, much may be effected towards making the different classes of people in Ireland coalesce, by the good sense of individuals, in their daily conversation and intercourse with each other. All signs of party hatred should be suppressed; all party words forborn. The appellations of orangemen and *croppies* should never be heard: *Protestant ascendancy* should never be talked of; nor should the term *an honest man* be used exclusively to designate a Protestant. If this liberal policy were universally adopted, Ireland would indeed be perfectly quiet and secure. And it would become, not only a secure, but a flourishing part of the British empire, if commercial as well as religious jealousies could cease. This is another subject, which a writer, publishing a quarto on Ireland, should have discussed. The discussion would lead us far beyond our limits, which we have already transgressed: but we cannot avoid observing, in general, that it is a farce to talk of an incorporating union having taken place between two countries, whilst the frontiers of each are guarded by a host of custom-house officers; whilst the inhabitants cannot pass or repass from either country, without undergoing a search as rigorous as if they were in an enemy's territory; whilst the duties and drawbacks of excise operate as checks upon the transfer of property, and even upon locomotion.

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Though Mr Carr, from prudential motives perhaps, has avoided some subjects peculiarly interesting to Ireland, yet it is but justice to acknowledge that he has taken great pains to represent the Irish in their true colours, wherever he adverts to the prejudices of their neighbours. We shall conclude our specimens of this work with his character of the Irish, which we believe to be a faithful representation of that people, and which, we hope, will strengthen the public interest in their favour.

'With few materials for ingenuity to work with, the peasantry of Ireland are most ingenious, and, with adequate inducements, laboriously indefatigable. They possess, in general, personal beauty and vigour of frame; they abound with wit and sensibility, although all the avenues to useful knowledge are closed against them; they are capable of forgiving injuries, and generous even to their oppressors; they are sensible of superior merit, and submissive to it: they display natural urbanity in rags and poverty; are cordially hospitable, ardent for information, social in their habits, kind in their disposition; in gaiety of heart and genuine humour unrivalled: even in their superstition presenting an union of pleasantry and tenderness. They are warm and constant in their attachments; faithful and incorruptible in their engagements; innocent, with the power of sensual enjoyments perpetually within their reach; observable of sexual modesty, though crowded in the narrow limits of a cabin; strangers to a crime which reddens the cheek of manhood with horror; tenacious of respect; acutely sensible of, and easily won by, kindnesses. Such is the peasantry of Ireland. I appeal, not to the affections or to the humanity, but to the justice of every one, to whom chance may direct these pages, whether men so constituted, present no character which a wise government can mould to the great purpose of augmenting the prosperity of the country, and the happiness of society.'

Upon the whole, we have bestowed more time upon this book than we should have done, had not the author appeared before as a respectable tourist, and had we not thought it our duty to endeavour to prevent him from degenerating into a mere collector of stale jests, and worn-out anecdotes; in short, into a mere book-maker. We now leave Mr Carr's merits to the judgment of more competent, and more consequential reviewers. The Irish have given him, from their favourite vehicle, the agnomen of *Jaunting-Car*; and the lord-lieutenant has created him a knight.*

Art.

* See a curious note (p. 31.) in the aforesaid *Epistle to Georges Edmond Howard*, relative to the offer of knighting George Falkener '*in the field, by the Earl of Chesterfield, in Dublin Castle.*'

ART. IV. *A Tour to Shiraz, by the Route of Cazrum and Firuzabad, with various Remarks on the Manners, Customs, Laws, Language, and Literature of the Persians: To which is added, a History of Persia, from the Death of Kerim Khan, to the Subversion of the Zend dynasty.* By Edward Scott Waring, Esq. of the Bengal Civil Establishment.

TO travel in a country imperfectly known, and to publish a journey which shall neither prove amusing nor instructive, though not quite unprecedented in the history of literature, must still be allowed to require some address and management. As the ambition of authors is not limited to one mode of excellence, we venture to furnish a few canons for the benefit of those who may be desirous of excelling in this line: premising, that although we have derived some useful hints from the publication before us, our obligations are by no means limited to the lucubrations of Mr Waring. 1*st*, To avoid the relation of characteristic anecdotes as much as possible. Man is naturally a very inquisitive animal, and too apt to indulge an impertinent curiosity respecting matters which nowise concern him. The manners of foreign nations most evidently fall under this description; and it is extremely commendable in a traveller to disappoint him of this silly amusement. It is to the injudicious neglect of this canon, that we are to attribute the foolish interest which some authors have excited for persons who should be no more to us than we to Hecuba; thence it is, that at the courts of Gondar, of Amerapura, of Tasisudon, and even of Pekin, we had formed a little circle of acquaintances, in whose welfare we took a ridiculous interest; and have caught ourselves trembling at the danger which future revolutions might occasion to the tottering authority of the Abyssinian monarch, or the spiritual dignity of the infant Lama. There is also another reason for avoiding anecdotes illustrative of manners, and substituting short but comprehensive sentences in their stead. Veracity is an article in pretty general circulation; and those anecdotes are generally believed, either to be true, or to be supposed so, by the persons who report them. Judgment, on the other hand, is a much rarer commodity; the talent of generalizing the mass of facts, in order to deduce accurate conclusions on national character and manners is not very generally possessed; and demands, for its exercise, a long period of observation, and an extensive range of communication amongst different ranks. The adoption of our plan, therefore, seems to be the surest method of excluding both amusement and instruction, since the reader is sure to be sceptical as to the author's ability

ability to form a correct judgment, particularly if his decisions are given in a very decided tone, although he may have resided in the country during a period of almost three months. Besides, we really believe that most people coincide with us in adopting the Norman adage, 'Qu'l y a des bonnes gens partout;' and when we find that these have been more careful than usual to keep out of the way of a particular traveller, we are not apt to appreciate highly his powers of impartial observation. *2d*, The next canon we would recommend to a travelling tyro, is copiousness of reflections; the more trite the subjects, the better are they adapted to the end in view: for this purpose, we suggest despotism, insecurity of person and property, murder, assassination and perfidy. As the same reflections must arise in every human breast on these topics, any given individual may be sure of not deviating into usefulness, by publishing his own. *3d*, As every object in the physical and moral world may be contemplated in a point of view more or less favourable, he must be sure to seize the most unfavourable. This is an important canon; for a series of disgusting pictures unavoidably creates some disgust at the book, besides an aversion to the subject, and all information connected with it. *4th*, If recent events have raised the country through which he travels to a high degree of political importance, he should be cautious of affording information on the points which are most anxiously studied at the moment. But if he cannot altogether suppress these topics, he might at least contrive to treat them in a style so manifestly loose and inaccurate, as to destroy all hopes of obtaining correct and precise notions. We flatter ourselves, that these rules may not prove altogether useless to future travellers; and have again to disclaim exclusive obligations to Mr Waring, who has by no means, sufficiently attended to them, on various occasions.

Mr Waring possessed one great requisite in a traveller, a perfect knowledge of the language of the country he was to visit. He embarked on the 10th of April 1802, (ask not from whence?) and arrived at Bushir on the 22d May. His route lay through the populous village of Birasgun, the ruins of Dires, and the city of Cazrun, now in a state of decline. On the 19th of June he entered Shiraz, where he remained till the 31st of July, about six weeks, and then returned by the route of Firuzabad to Bushir, where he staid till the 7th of September. The whole period of Mr Waring's stay in Persia, from the 22d of May till the 7th of September, comprizes a period of about three months and a half. But to collect information on all the topics we find mentioned in the titles of his thirty-five chapters, would, to an uninspired traveller, require years; to discover persons on whose statements he

he could rely, must, according to his own account, prove no very easy task; but this cautious and deliberate mode of inquiry is by no means to the taste of our traveller, who decides as confidently on the Persian character, morality, and manners, as if he had spent his life in the country. The faults of Mr Waring, however, are the faults of youth: the abilities, of which we discover occasional traces in the work, will remain, after time has corrected the precipitate judgments and fastidious taste, which too frequently obscure its merits.

Those who have contemplated the state of society in modern Persia, through the medium of former travellers, will find little novelty in this work; and of a portion of that little we doubt the accuracy. In the pleasing, good humoured, and unpretending narrative of Captain Franklin, they will find much more amusement. But many of his facts are questioned. That the environs of Shiraz should have appeared delightful to Captain Franklin, as they are represented by the Persian muse, whilst to Mr Waring they seemed disagreeable, does not surprise us: *de gustibus*, &c. But the singular discrepancy regarding a physical fact, which required only observation, is calculated to excite surprise. Captain Franklin, speaking of the climate of Shiraz, informs us, 'The mornings and evenings are cool, but the rest of the day temperate. In summer, the thermometer seldom rises higher than 73° in the day, and at night generally falls to 62°.' Mr Waring has the following note. 'Captain Franklin mentions that the thermometer in summer is never more than 77°. I am sorry to differ from him; my thermometer I found to be correct, and from daily observation, I am confident it was never under 90°.' We have some difficulty, however, in reconciling Mr Waring's observation with the following passage, written the day after he left Shiraz. 'The night was disagreeably cold; and I could not refrain from reflecting, that I had to prepare myself for the dust and heat of the Gurmsir. Thermometer 94°.' This disagreeable coldness was not surely produced by an atmosphere heated to 90° of Fahrenheit.

Our readers are probably not unacquainted with the importance attached to the alliance of the court of Persia, by the present ruler of France. The repeated secret missions of the most intelligent and active agents in his employ, since the commencement of the present contests, sufficiently evince his anxiety on this point. The present object may probably be to incite the Persian monarch to attack the Russian possessions between the Euxine and Caspian; but there is reason to think, that, at one period, a design of a different nature actuated his ambition. This momentary interest, added to that laudable curiosity which

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is at all times attracted to the fate of great and once powerful nations, induces us to insert a succinct account, collected from the publication before us, and other documents, of the most important events which have occurred in that country since the death of Nadir Shah in 1747.

On the death of that illustrious warrior, his descendants disputed the succession for a moment in the heart of the empire, whilst on its skirts arose two powerful monarchies which extinguished their contention, by extending their own boundaries till they met in the centre. The grandsons of Nadir returned to the obscurity of his father; and the descendants of that great monarch, whose name, only half a century ago, scattered dismay from the banks of the Euphrates to the shores of the Ganges, now earn a laborious subsistence in the humble occupation of grooms. Ahmed Khan, the Abdali into whose hands fell the treasures of his master, founded at Cabul a dominion which he has transmitted to his descendants; at this day, his successor governs, in that city, the fair and fertile regions of Cabul, Multan, Casmir, and Sind in Hindustan; whilst, in Persia, his jurisdiction extends over the provinces of Candahar and Khorasan. The empire, founded in the west by Kerim Khan, was not destined to be of so long duration. This officer was governor of Shiraz; and, on the death of his master, rendered himself independent in the province of Fars. A long and prosperous reign of thirty years established his power, and extended his authority over the whole of Persia, excepting that portion still possessed by the Abdallis. When M. Gmelin travelled in Persia by order of the Czarina, the empire of Kerim extended over Aserbijan, Masenderan, Asterabad, the cities of Tabriz, Hamdan, Tigrat, Shiraz, Ispahan, and Kerman, with all their dependencies; in short, it comprehended all the countries from the Gulph of Persia to the frontiers of Turkey. His administration was marked by the severity of military discipline, and the exercise of a rigorous justice. Shiraz, his capital, contains monuments of princely munificence erected by Kerim; amongst others, a bason half a mile in length, covered over like Exeter Change; and a mosque, of which the architecture is highly praised. He never assumed the title of King, contenting himself with the appellation of Vakil, or deputy. His death, in 1779, was the signal of new disturbances, of which we shall particularize those only which led to important consequences.

Whilst in the south the family of Kerim disputed the succession to the empire, the eunuch Aga Mohamed Khan, whom Kerim held in confinement in Shiraz, contrived to escape; and flying to the north of Persia, where his relations held elevated stations,

stations, subjected to his dominion the provinces bordering on the Caspian. The son of Kerim, his brother, and another relation, paid successively the forfeit of their ambition. Ali Morad, also related to the Vakeel, succeeded to their authority, and enjoyed for near five years the dominion of the southern provinces. His death, in 1784, paved the way for Jaffier Khan, a nephew of Kerim.

Jaffier Khan reigned four years, a period filled with disorders, and marked by several rebellions. Notwithstanding his personal courage, success rarely attended his arms. Aga Mohamed, his most formidable rival, extended his power to the centre of Persia, and established the seat of his empire in Tahiran, where his successor still continues to reside. It was during this period that Captain Franklin visited Persia, who has furnished an account of his interview with Jaffier Khan: in the following year, 1788, that prince was assassinated by two of his officers.

Latif Ali Khan, son of Jaffier Khan, found means to gain possession of Shiraz, after various vicissitudes of fortune, and to establish his authority over the province of Fars. The rest of Persia, exclusive of the Abdalli possessions, had for some time been subjected to the controul of the eunuch Aga Mohamed Khan, who carried his arms into the only remaining possession of the house of Kerim. His campaign of 1789 was distinguished by a signal victory and an unsuccessful siege; and, disappointed in his design of making himself master of Shiraz, Aga Mohamed retraced his steps to Tahiran, now the capital of Persia. Latif Ali availed himself of his retreat, to attempt the reduction of Kerman; but the defection of his confidential minister, who possessed himself of Shiraz in his master's absence, and called in the aid of Aga Mohamed, completed the ruin of this young prince, worthy of a happier destiny. This event occurred in the year 1790; but the heroic, though unhappy efforts of Latif Ali, procrastinated his fate till the year 1794. Now a solitary fugitive, and now at the head of a considerable force, his activity and resolution spread alarm over the whole extent of the empire, till, taken prisoner on the capture of the city of Kerman, he was put to death by order of Aga Mohamed, in the 25th year of his age. In his person terminated the short-lived dynasty established by Kerim Khan in Shiraz, in the year 1748.

Aga Mohamed now beheld all the provinces, which we have enumerated as constituting the empire of Kerim, united under his sway. He died in the following year 1795, and his nephew, Fatah Ali Shah, quietly ascended the vacant throne. This prince, like his predecessor, holds his court in the city of Tahiran, 'a city of considerable size,' says Mr Waring, 'and now the capital of

Persia. It is situate' (situated) ' in a plain, and experiences equal severity of heat and cold; it is about twelve marches to the Caspian, and little more to Ispahan.' Our readers will find the modern capital of Persia, in the maps of the accurate D'Anville, nearly equidistant from the city of Cazvin, and the ruins of the far-famed Raï. Its position, according to the geographer, is much nearer to the Caspian than to the city of Ispahan. As a specimen of our author's style, we insert his account of the present king of Persia.

' The present king of Persia ascended the throne under a variety of advantages, which rarely occur in a country where the only claim to sovereignty depends upon the sword. At the time of his uncle's decease he was at Shiraz: upon this event he advanced towards Tahiran, and was fortunate enough to gain possession of this important place. It was at this place where all the treasure of the empire was deposited, and the families of all the principal officers of the realm. He, by this means, secured the affections of the soldiery, and the fidelity of all the principal officers of state. Haji Ibrahim, the most considerable and respectable person in the empire, declared himself in his favour; and it was chiefly owing to his exertion and influence, that the king met with so little resistance in the accomplishment of his wishes.

' Fatah Ali Shah, the present king, is about seven-and-twenty years of age; he is a Kejer, an inconsiderable tribe in the neighbourhood of Tahiran, and of no repute before the accession of Aga Mohamed Khan, to the throne of Persia. * Indeed, during the reign of Kerim Khan, they were in general disrepute, nothing being more common than the people of the bazar refusing to sell them any article, on the plea that they had nothing fit for a Kejer sufficiently bad and vile.† But now, owing to the very great partiality the king ev ces for his tribe, they have become the most considerable people in the kingdom; and the name of Kejer is detested and feared in every part of the empire of Persia. All the responsible trusts are conferred upon them; and the present governor of Ispahan, and of the district of Irac, was elevated from his former situation of a seller of greens, to his present station, merely because he was a Kejer.

' The manners of the king are said to be very dignified, though at the same time very affable and prepossessing; and he is allowed to possess all the exterior accomplishments of a Persian. In his person he is superior to

* All great men have an illustrious pedigree. It is said the prime minister, whom Nadir Shah seduced the unfortunate Tahmasp Shah to murder, was an ancestor of the present royal family. He was a namesake, and a Kejer.

† Aga Mohamed Khan was a state prisoner during the reign of the Vakil Kerim Khan. Upon his accession to the throne, he dug up his body, and destroyed the grave of his illustrious and lamented predecessor. I saw the tablet in one of the gardens.

to most men; and the immense length of his beard (a gift highly valued by the Persians) is a perpetual theme of discourse and admiration. He has been engaged in no military enterprize; and, in consequence of this, the public opinion denies him the only Persian virtue, courage.* His annual expeditions towards Khorasin are made with the view of engaging the attention of his subjects, and accustoming his troops to the fatigues of actual service, but without the smallest design of attempting the reduction of that province. The greatest blemish in his character, is the murder of Haji Abrahim, who had regarded him as a son, and who had evinced for him the affection of a father. It is said that the minister used to take greater liberties than the extent of his services allowed; but I know of no excuse which can palliate such barbarous inhumanity.

'The court of Tahiran is said (by those who have had many opportunities of judging) to be very magnificent and splendid, and in every respect becoming the sovereign of an extensive and flourishing empire. When the king receives any one in state, his sons, who are very numerous, stand in a line from the throne; † his ministers and officers of state behind them; and in the avenues are perhaps more than two thousand golami shahis sumptuously clothed. The master of the ceremonies introduces the stranger; and every thing is conducted with the greatest decency and solemnity. Permission of being seated in the presence of the king is only granted to embassadors, and envoys of foreign states, and to, I believe, the Shaikh al Islam, as the chief priest of the Moslem religion. The king sometimes wears his regalia; and by allowing the rays of the sun to fall upon him, I have heard it was impossible to behold him with any degree of steadiness. His jewels are supposed to be superior to any potentate's in the world; indeed it would be surprising were it otherwise, as he has possessed himself of all the valuable jewels in his empire.

'The king has now reigned above seven years; and were it possible to form an opinion on the duration of a despotic government, he has every prospect of reigning for a much longer period. His brother, Hussun Culi Khan, who twice threw off his allegiance, is now in a place of sanctuary, which, I believe, the king respects more on account of the entreaties of his mother, than from any reverence he entertains for the place itself.‡ He is, however, guarded with the strictest vigilance, and it is almost impossible for him to effect his escape.

* I have frequently heard the Persians say, that the king did not deserve the throne, because he had not won it by the sword.

† His family amounts to above fifty, several of whom were born on the same day.

‡ I learnt, on my last visit to Bushir, that his mother was dead.—She was mother to both the brothers; and was excessively fond of her youngest son. By all accounts she was a woman of considerable ability; and was highly respected by all classes of people.

'The king's eldest son, Mihr Ali Khan, is an enterprizing young man, much esteemed by the soldiers and military officers; and as his illegitimacy deprives him of all hope of peaceably succeeding his father, it is difficult to say what the intrigues of discontented noblemen might not excite him to attempt. He has frequently declared to the king his father, that the sword should either secure or deprive him of the throne; and that it was his determination to overcome the obstacles which were placed in his way. Such is the situation of princes in a despotism, that it is the only means they have of preserving their lives; and in the event of the king's death, Persia again will be deluged with blood: for as the princes are the governors of various districts in the empire, they have each the means of asserting their claims to the throne.

'The king of Persia has revived a taste for literature, so scandalously neglected by his predecessors. He is himself a man of considerable taste and erudition; and is also a tolerable poet. As it is an unusual circumstance for sovereigns to be poets, I venture to produce a specimen of his composition.

"If thou wert to display thy beauties, my beloved, to Vamec, he would sacrifice the life of Azra at the shrine of thy perfections.

"If Yusuf beheld thy charms, he would think no more of Zulekha.

"Come to me, and comply with my wishes; give me no further promises of to-morrow.

"When the mistress of Khacan approached him with a hundred graces, one glance captivated his heart."

The most surprising part of this account, we think, is the extent of Fatah Ali's small family. A prince of twenty-seven years of age with fifty children! *Proh deûm atque hominum fidem!* We can scarcely help suspecting a typographical error, and that our author means to assign thirty-seven or forty-seven years for the age of Fatah Ali. Even in countries where polygamy is practised, this circumstance is calculated to excite astonishment. The Persian historians frequently mention the number of sons left by a deceased monarch; and allowing an equal number of daughters, we must still acknowledge Fatah Ali to be by far the most prolific monarch of whom history makes mention. Should he attain the age of sixty, and his posterity increase in a similar proportion, his subjects will have occasion for all their arithmetic to ascertain the number of their princes.

We find the following account of the present state of the military force.

'The military force of Persia consists chiefly of cavalry; and it is only when they are going against a fort that they make use of infantry. The troops are clothed, furnished with horses, arms, &c. at the expense of the king; and the pay which they receive is from ten to fifteen tuman a year. In addition to this, they are supplied with an allowance

lowance of barley and straw for their horses, and wheat, rice, and butter for themselves. They receive also something under the head of inam, a present; but this I believe to be very uncertain. This pay, however, is very great; for when we consider the value of money in Persia, (which I look upon to be four or five times greater than in England), and the supplies which they receive, it will appear that the yearly pay amounts to fifty or sixty guineas.

'When the king puts himself at the head of his army, the different serkardas (chieftains) are ordered to assemble their troops: and the king having pledges in his hands for the fidelity of his soldiers, is certain of having an army of fifty or sixty thousand men in a few days. Besides these troops, there is another body called Yholam Shahis (slaves of the king), and who are considered to be the choicest troops in the empire. They have charge of the king's person, receive greater pay, and are clothed in a more expensive manner than the regular cavalry.

'These may be about twenty thousand; but the flower of this corps is formed into a body of about four thousand, who are distinguished by the excessive richness of their dress, and the insolence of their behaviour.'

We have already hinted our suspicions, that some inaccuracy might be discovered in that part of Mr Waring's work which claims more particularly the charm of novelty. Can it be wondered at, if, during so short a residence, he was unable to procure accurate information on so great a variety of topics as his work embraces? The revenue of the sovereign is stated to consist in the rents derived from an eighth part of the lands; the remaining seven eighths belong to the subject.

'One eighth of the lands in Fars and Irac is probably possessed by the king; the remainder by his subjects. The produce of these lands are subject to two divisions, the one called Nukd, and the other Jinsi; or, in other words, the former yielding produce for manufacture, as cotton, silk, &c.; and the latter crops of grain. Those who cultivate land belonging to the king, either Nukd or Jinsi, pay a rent of half the produce, besides the deduction which is made on account of the seed: the king, however, supplies cattle for drawing water, and digs wells at his own expense.'

On this statement, we beg leave to remark, that the lands of Hindustan, by the institutions of Acber, were in like manner divided into Nukd and Jinsi; but that those terms had an acceptation conformable to their real meaning, and altogether different from that stated by Mr Waring, which is contrary to their signification. The Nukdi lands were those of which the rents were paid in money; the rents of the Jinsi were paid in kind. Now, the word Nukd signifies ready money; whilst Jinsi signifies the article, the commodity. It is therefore manifest, that the same regulations prevailed in both countries, in the same sense; and

that no terms could be more injudiciously selected to express the meaning which Mr Waring assigns them.

We wish Mr Waring had enabled us to furnish a connected account of the celebrated sect, who, under the name of Wahebis threaten the extirpation of the faith of Mohamed, in the countries where it first struck root, and whom we have on a former occasion introduced to the acquaintance of our readers. * He supplies us, however, with only a few insulated facts, and these without date.

'Abdul Waheb was a native of Ajen, a town in the province of Al Ared.' This district skirts the desert, and lies east of the tract which extends between Mecca and Medina. He is represented as a man of erudition, having pursued his studies successively at Basora, Baghdad, and Damascus. His first converts were made in his native city; and, before his death, Abdul Waheb saw the whole of the district converted to his tenets, and subjected to his authority. The tenets which Mr Waring assigns to the Wahebis are the following.

'That there is one just and wise God; that all those persons called prophets, are only to be considered as just and virtuous men; and that there never existed an inspired work, nor an inspired writer. The use of tobacco. opium, and coffee was interdicted. Among a number of the civil ordinances of the Wahebis are the following. Illegal to levy duties on goods the property of a Moslem; on specie, two and a half *per cent.*; land watered naturally, to pay ten *per cent.*; artificially, five *per cent.* The revenues of conquered countries to belong to the community: the revenues to be divided into five parts; one to be given to the general treasury, the rest to be kept where collected, to be allotted for the good of the community, for travellers, and charitable purposes: a Moslem, who deviates from the precepts of the Coran, to be treated as an infidel: the destruction of magnificent tombs, a necessary act of devotion.'

It may be presumed, that, at the commencement, the new sectary did not venture to reject entirely the doctrine of Mohamed; or perhaps the term 'Moslem' does not here apply to the followers of Mohamed, but to those oriental illuminati. The word in its original sense, signifies saved, one who obtains salvation; and may be transferred by these sectaries to themselves. The injunction respecting the Coran may possibly be limited to the observances it enjoins; for the faith it inculcates is incompatible with the doctrines we have detailed.

Abdul Aziz succeeded to the spiritual authority, and to the temporal power of Abdul Waheb, and carried both to a much greater extent. Two armies sent against him by the Pacha of Baghdad, were weakened by his address, and discomfited by his valour.

* See Vol. VIII. p. 41.—43.

valour. An expedition, led by the sheriff of Mecca in 1794, was not more successful. The Atubis, the most powerful of the tribes who inhabit the coast, have adopted the tenets of the Wahebis, and controul the navigation of the Persian Gulph. The holy shrine at Carbela, where the pious Moslems annually wept the untimely death of the sons of Ali, was attacked by the Wahebis in 1802, the tombs destroyed, and the town ransacked.

'The force of the Wahebis is very considerable, probably eighty or ninety thousand. Whenever an expedition is undertaken, the chiefs are directed to be at a certain place by such a time: and it is so contrived that a large body shall meet at a particular spot, without knowing the designs of their leader. This force is generally mounted on camels, and their arms are chiefly a sword and a spear. They have few guns or matchlocks; those which they have are very bad.

'Since finishing this, intelligence has been received, of their having attacked and plundered Taïf, Mecca, and Medina. They have, in consequence, violated the sacred law, which forbids armed men approaching within a certain distance of the temple.

'They have thus destroyed the foundation stone of Mohamedanism: and this mighty fabric, which at one period bade defiance to all Europe, falls, on the first attack, at the feet of an Arab reformer. The event may make a great change in the Mohamedan world; for it appears to me almost certain, that the pilgrimages to Mecca have had nearly as great an effect in supporting this religion, as the first victories and conquests of Mohamed.

'At my last visit to Bushir (1804), I heard the intelligence of Abdul Aziz having been assassinated.'

Nearly a third part of this publication is occupied in criticisms and specimens of Persian poetry, with parallel passages sometimes subjoined from Virgil and Horace. But the European reader can judge of the merit of Ferdusi and Hafiz, only through the medium of Mr Champion's verse, or Mr Waring's prose; whilst the Italian muse appears in the mellifluous harmony of her native numbers. To render the comparison at all just, Mr Waring should have translated the passages he quotes from the Roman poets, into English prose. The inferiority of the former would certainly prove less striking.

We by no means feel disposed, on this occasion, to discuss the comparative merits of the poets of the East and West. Whatever may be the charms of Persian poetry, the language is not likely ever to be studied by the literati of Europe: and their poets will, consequently, never be properly appreciated. To translate poetry, the translator must be himself a poet. There is, certainly, no Persian work of considerable length, which can command admiration as a whole; but we will venture to affirm, that numerous passages may be selected from the best writers, which will stand a comparison with those of any other nation.

But whence comes it that their beauties vanish, the moment they are transfused into a different language? Do they consist less in the thought than in a singular felicity of expression, which unquestionably constitutes the charm of poetry, as much as the idea it conveys? May it not be asked, whether we should be very ardent admirers of Virgil or Horace, if we knew those writers only through the translations of Trapp or Creech! It is probable the Persian poets may not have been even so fortunate.

Though we have not been able to bestow high commendations on this publication, it has left us a favourable impression of the talents of its author. Should he ever happen to suspect that knowledge is not to be acquired by intuition, nor nations judged of as individuals, and that to doubt and to inquire, is at least as philosophic as to decide and dogmatize, his future productions will certainly be deserving of attention, from persons whom the subject may happen to interest.

ART. V. *The Substance of the Speech delivered in the Committee of Finance, 29. January* 1807, *by the Right Honourable Lord Henry Petty.* With the necessary Tables, and an Appendix, containing the Plans of Lord Castlereagh and Mr Johnston. 8vo. pp. 116. London, 1807.

AS the wants of the State, whatever may be their extent, must be fully supplied; and as they can only be supplied by contributions levied on the internal resources of the country, our readers will readily conceive, that the skill of the financier must be displayed, not in removing, but in palliating the evils of taxation,—not in really lightening a load, which must be borne in its full extent, but in rendering it more tolerable, by a more equal distribution of its pressure. There is no way but one, either of borrowing money, or of paying debt. It is quite chimerical, therefore, to expect that any real saving can accrue to the public from those arrangements of finance, which consist merely in blending, or in combining, those very simple operations. Their object, indeed, is not to save, but to modify and regulate,—either to relieve the existing generation, by drawing on the more ample resources of a future age, or to relieve posterity at the expense of the existing generation. If the expenditure of a state is at any time increased much beyond its usual rate, from the frequent occurrence of war, or from any other unforeseen emergence, it would be obviously most unjust to load one generation beyond its strength, and entirely to relieve posterity from burdens, which are imposed as much for their benefit and security, as for that of their

their forefathers. It would be also very inexpedient; because the weight which, if laid on all at once, would crush the prosperity of a country, may be so divided and lightened, by being gradually increased, as to allow its growing resources freely to expand, and the fund from which future exertions must be made, to be proportionally enlarged, so as to meet with ease the pressure even of heavier demands. It is the great and distinguishing excellence of the funding system, that it enables the statesman to levy contributions on future ages, and thus furnishes him with ample resources for the execution of great designs; and though in its excess it may degenerate into an intolerable grievance, and may even strike at the root of national prosperity, yet, in its milder operation, it does not in any great degree retard the advancement of a thriving country. It lops off only the redundant branches; while the massy trunk, untouched and unimpaired, is left to renew, for a future age, its fresh and more abundant foliage

It must be confessed, however, that by furnishing an easy method of raising present supplies, the funding system may tempt the indolence or the rashness of statesmen to carry it to too great a length. It is evident, that if the debt of a nation be regularly and rapidly increasing, so that in each successive year it becomes necessary to mortgage a greater proportion of its annual revenue, the period must arrive sooner or later, when it will be impossible to make any further addition to its burdens. In these circumstances, however strongly any measure may be recommended by considerations of public utility, yet, if it increases the expenses of the state, it cannot be adopted without the certainty, or at least the imminent hazard, of national bankruptcy. The most effectual, and indeed the only method of guarding against this calamity, is to establish, at the period when the debt is first contracted, a fund for its final redemption; and thus, while the resources of posterity are freely anticipated, at the sametime to provide the certain means of their future relief. The design of the funding system is to lighten the burden of an uncommonly heavy expenditure, by extending it over a succession of generations; while the system of sinking funds fixes a period for the discharge of these incumbrances, and thus prevents any one generation from being overwhelmed by the consolidated debt of ages. By invariably combining the expedient of borrowing, with the practice of establishing a sinking fund for the redemption of debt, the extremes of two opposite systems are in a manner tempered and balanced, we are enabled to avoid the inconveniences peculiar to each, and to avail ourselves of all their advantages, without any of their evils.

In almost every state where the funding system has been adopted,

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it has been abused. Statesmen have considered it as an easy way of raising present supplies; and they have troubled themselves very little about the consequences to which they must have perceived it would lead. In Britain, after a few feeble and fruitless attempts to check the undue increase of the national debt, our provident ancestors seem to have consigned the interests of posterity to utter oblivion. They appear to have imagined that the national debt was a sort of sacred inheritance, which, along with our rights and liberties, it was their duty to transmit unimpaired to their children. It is true, indeed, that in the system of finance pursued immediately after the revolution, various expedients were devised for preventing an indefinite increase of this debt. The partial system of redemption adopted at that time, was however naturally relinquished for the more comprehensive scheme of a general fund established in 1716 by Sir Robert Walpole, and rendered applicable to the discharge of the whole debt. The history of this fund is well known; it was encroached upon, on every real or fancied emergence, till it was at last wholly alienated from its original purpose. No attempt was afterwards made to limit the amount of the national debt till the year 1786, when the annual sum of one million was set apart for that purpose. In 1792, 200,000*l.* were voted to be annually added to it; and another sinking fund was established of 1 *per cent.* on all future loans. Both those sinking funds amounted, on the 5th February 1807, to about 8,339,709*l.*

In order still further to assist the effect of these salutary measures, Mr Pitt adopted the resolution of raising part of the supplies within the year: this resolution he carried into effect by means of an increase in the assessed taxes. By this plan, aided by voluntary contributions, a sum of 6,000,000*l.* was raised within the year 1797. In 1798 the income-tax was substituted in its stead, which it was supposed would more effectually accomplish the object of the former measure. Since the year 1797, when the principle of raising the supplies within the year was first adopted, it has been carried to a much greater extent. In addition to the income or property-tax, other taxes have been imposed, by which the war-taxes have been brought up to the immense sum of 21,000,000*l.* It is possible, however, that this system, assisted as it is by the constantly increasing action of the sinking fund, may be pushed too far, and may ultimately press too heavily on the growing resources of the country. The plan of finance brought forward by Lord Henry Petty seems to be framed with a view to guard against this evil. It is calculated to relieve the present generation, and to throw proportionally a greater burden on posterity. This is also the object of the funding system; but the present plan

plan is an extension of that system; it carries it a step further. By the funding system, the principal is borrowed, and taxes are laid on to pay the interest; by Lord Henry Petty's plan, both principal and interest are borrowed, and taxes are only imposed to pay the interest of a sum equal to the interest of the principal, *i. e.* the interest of the interest. It is evident that this system can only afford a temporary respite from taxation. By borrowing the interest at present, we can only hope to delay its payment till a more convenient season. The circumstances of a country may, however, render it expedient to have recourse to measures of this nature.

When we consider the present situation of Britain, we cannot hesitate as to the expediency, if not the necessity, of preventing, as far as possible, any further addition to her burdens. We do not think that in this country taxation can be carried much further, without degenerating into a system of the most vexatious and grinding oppression. The taxes on luxurious consumption, which are in every respect the most eligible, and the least oppressive, seem to have reached their natural limit. Almost all commodities pay about double or triple their original value in taxes; every transfer of property, all the general transactions of commerce, and even particular professions, are taxed. No new tax of any consequence can be proposed by the minister on consumable commodities without the certainty of its encountering a most formidable opposition. In some cases taxes are either greatly modified, or relinquished without any attempt to carry them into effect; and even when they are persisted in, the experience of their impropriety, or inefficiency, often renders their repeal necessary. With all these facts before us, it seems very doubtful whether the taxes which we have already imposed on consumption admit of any considerable augmentation. It is only when taxation presses lightly on a country, when it rather follows than precedes its increasing wealth, that an increase in the existing duties can be expected to produce any thing like a proportional increase of revenue to the state. When consumable commodities are already very heavily taxed, any considerable addition to the duties which they pay, instead of yielding an increase, would most probably so far diminish consumption as to occasion a defalcation of revenue.

The difficulty of drawing any additional revenue from taxes on consumption, plainly appears from the change which of late years has been introduced into our system of taxation. Great part of the supplies which are required for the present exigencies of the state, are raised by direct and compulsory taxes, to which we are persuaded no minister would willingly resort if any other resource remained. Besides a variety of other taxes, which have more or less

less of a compulsory character, the property-tax levies a contribution of one-tenth on all income above 100*l.* a year. Having nearly exhausted the taxes on consumption, we have had recourse to direct taxation; but if direct taxation fails, we have no other resource. If, however, we are of opinion, that taxes on consumption will not admit of any considerable augmentation, we are still more decidedly convinced, when we consider the extreme severity with which the property-tax already presses on the middling classes of society, that direct taxation cannot be carried further without materially encroaching on the resources of future wealth.

Although it would therefore be, in our opinion, very inexpedient, with the prospect before us of a tedious and expensive war, to add very considerably to our permanent taxes, and thus rashly to push taxation to its utmost limit, yet it would surely not be very consolatory to reflect, that while we were relieving ourselves from present burdens by throwing proportionally a greater load on futurity, we were at the same time providing no sure resource for meeting the accumulated demands which, in that case, would too surely await us. If it were certain, indeed, that peace would be procured in a few years, or at any time before the loans for interest, or the supplementary loans, rose to a very great amount, in that case it would be only necessary to continue such a portion of the war taxes as would be required either for paying the interest of the debt contracted, or for its final discharge. The nature of the arrangements adopted for this purpose would of course be determined by the state of the finances at the close of the war. We are aware that the continuance of war-taxes, after the peace, would be made a handle to excite popular clamour and discontent; but the burden of these taxes, for a limited period, is comparatively a very light evil, when it is considered, that by improvidently adding to the load of permanent taxes, we might derange our finances, and ultimately be compelled to adopt that as a measure of necessity, which we now adopt as a measure of prudence. We are, besides, at a loss to discover, what peculiar objections can be urged against the continuance of the war-taxes: if, at the conclusion of the war, it be necessary either to continue the old taxes, or to impose new ones, it would surely be better to allow those taxes to remain, of which the effects are known, and to which the habits of the people are accommodated, than to resort to what is wholly new and untried.

As it is impossible, however, to fix any certain limit to the duration of the war, it is necessary to provide against the most unfavourable contingence which can happen. The plan of finance now before us, consists, as we have already had occasion to observe, in an extension of the funding system, by borrowing both principal and interest, and in funding only the interest. But if the

the war were to continue for ten or twelve years, the loans for interest would nearly equal the sum required for the services of the current year. In order, therefore, to attain the great object of the measure, namely, to limit the amount of the permanent taxes, it becomes necessary to provide for the payment of the interest due on those loans, without imposing new duties. For this purpose the sinking fund, which, in the course of ten years, will have increased from 8,555,000*l.* to 22,720,000*l.* will afford ample resources.

When this fund was first established, the evils of its excessive increase were foreseen and provided against. By a subsequent arrangement, however, the sinking funds of 1786 and 1792 were consolidated, and no limit was fixed for their accumulation. The mischief, it was thought, could be guarded against when it was near; and the great accession of debt, occasioned by the enormous expenditure of the last war, had unfortunately removed to a distant period the dangers which were to be apprehended from the future increase of the sinking fund. When we consider, however, not only its present amount, but how rapidly it must accumulate, independent of the strong claims of the present generation for relief from their almost intolerable burdens, it appears to us that the period may well be looked to, when it will be expedient to limit its operation, and thus, by rendering the reduction of the debt more gradual, to guard against the effects of too sudden a change. The collecting of that immense revenue, which is at present required for the payment of the public creditors, and for the service of the state, together with the whole body of laws, regulations, and complicated establishments necessary for this purpose, has effected a great, though gradual, change in the structure of society in Britain. To this artificial state of society, however, men's views, habits, schemes, and commercial arrangements, are accommodated; and any great or sudden alteration, even although it might remove one evil, would undoubtedly produce extensive mischief. The abstraction of a certain portion of the revenue of a country, though a great evil, is not the only evil of taxation. The increase in the value of the commodity taxed, the consequent diminution of its consumption, and perhaps the stagnation of the manufacture, produce fully as much confusion and inconvenience as the mere privation of revenue occasioned by the tax. But when the change is fairly accomplished, the business of society adapts itself to it, and goes on with the same regularity as before. In these circumstances, if things were suddenly reinstated in their original condition, the evil of taxation would no doubt be removed; but this benefit would be accompanied by all those incidental evils which the sudden reformation even of acknowledged

ledged grievances never fails to produce. These considerations, though sufficiently obvious, do not seem to be generally attended to. The redemption of the debt is considered (and it no doubt is so) as the mere prelude to relief from taxation: but it never seems to be imagined, that the repealing of taxes to the enormous annual amount of 32,000,000*l.* will be a work either of difficulty or delicacy. It appears to us, however, that the same skill and contrivance which was called forth when those taxes were imposed, will be required to guard against the evils which may be produced by their repeal. We do not know, indeed, any business of finance, in which a departure from the line of considerate caution would produce such extensive evil.

There is not the same risk in imposing taxes, because an unexceptionable tax may be repealed, and the imposition of a new tax raises the price of the commodity on hand, and must in this respect be an advantage to the dealers; but by rashly repealing a tax on any commodity to a great amount, the dealers might be all ruined by the fall which would take place in the value of their stock in hand. By relieving one particular article from a tax, its consumption might be greatly increased, and it might drive from the market all other rival commodities, on which the taxes were still continued. The repeal of one tax might thus render various taxes unproductive, and, what would be still a greater evil, it might diminish the demand for other commodities, and produce a stagnation in their respective manufactures. It would be impossible, we should imagine, without great inconvenience, to repeal, in one year, taxes to the amount of more than 2,000,000*l.*, in which case, even supposing the debt to be redeemed, it would be sixteen years before the country could be released from its burdens. It must be confessed, however, that as long as the war continues, there is not much reason to apprehend any inconvenient increase in the sinking fund; and that the present scheme of finance, though it no doubt guards against this evil, yet originates in the necessity of limiting the increasing amount of our permanent taxes. This is the principal object of the plan, which we cannot help thinking both wise and reasonable, and well calculated to guard against those financial embarrassments into which we might be involved by blindly adhering to a system, and pushing it to an extreme, under circumstances totally different from those which rendered it originally expedient. Highly approving, therefore, of the principle of the measure, we shall now give a short view of its details, which we think however of less consequence, as being in some degree matters of arbitrary arrangement.

The war expenditure of Britain, to be provided for by the present plan, exclusive of subsidies, or any other unforeseen contingencies,

tingencies, is taken at 32,000,000*l.* Towards defraying this heavy expenditure, we have already war taxes to the annual amount of 21,000,000*l.* It is proposed to make up the deficiency by means of loans, and to take annually from the war taxes as much as will amount to 10 *per cent.* on the sum borrowed; 5 *per cent.* for the payment of interest, and 5 *per cent.* to be set apart as a sinking fund for the redemption of the principal. The war-taxes are to be charged with the interest and sinking fund of the loan of each year, until they be exhausted. This will take place in fourteen years, in which time it is calculated that the first loan will be redeemed, and will be again available for the service of the state. In the same manner in each succeeding year, a new loan will be redeemed; so that the plan presents a series of loans and redemptions which is inexhaustible.

For the first three years, the loans will amount to twelve millions; in the fourth year fourteen millions; and in the last ten years sixteen millions will be borrowed. As the war taxes, however, are all required to make up the necessary supplies of the year, whatever portion of them may be taken away for the interest and the sinking fund of the war loans, must necessarily be replaced. In addition, therefore, to the principal loan, another loan must be borrowed for this purpose. In the first year, the war loan will consist of 12,000,000*l.*; to pay the interest of which, and to constitute a fund for its redemption, 1,200,000*l.* will be detached from the war taxes. The sum taken from the war taxes will be made up by 1,000,000*l.* taken from the war loan, and 200,000*l.* raised by a supplementary loan. To the interest of the supplementary loans, a sinking fund of 1 *per cent.* is to be added for the redemption of the principal. This charge is to be defrayed by new taxes.

As the plan continues to operate, the war taxes must be gradually decreasing, and the supplementary loans must proportionally increase. Their increase, however, cannot occasion, during the first ten years, any very great addition to the existing taxes, as in the years 1807 and 1808 annuities will expire to the amount of 385,515*l.* The charge of the first three years is to be defrayed wholly from these annuities; and what remains is to be equally distributed over the next seven years; so that in each year taxes to the amount only of 295,000*l.* will be required. If the war should unfortunately last till this resource should fail, another arrangement presents itself for the next ten years. It is proposed, when the interest of the sinking fund shall have accumulated, so as to exceed the interest of the present unredeemed debt, to appropriate such part of the excess as shall be required, to the payment of the interest of the supplementary loans; never, however, so far encroaching on the sinking fund, as either to prevent

prevent the redemption of the whole debt which existed previous to the year 1802, within forty-five years from that period, or to postpone the redemption of any future loan longer than forty-five years from the period when it was first contracted. By limiting, therefore, the operation of the sinking fund, the war expenditure of Britain, amounting to 32,000,000*l.* will be provided for during the second ten years of the war, without materially adding to her burdens; and the great object of the plan will thus be completely attained.

Such being our opinion, it may perhaps appear unnecessary to enter into any further discussion respecting the merits of this measure. We cannot help observing, however, (although with great deference to the talents of the author), that it rather appears to us to be too complicated, and that some of its provisions are even superfluous. We do not, in the first place, see what end is answered by interfering with the war taxes. As the war taxes are all required for the supplies of the year, whatever portion of them is detached for the interest and sinking fund of the war loans, must be replaced by means of supplementary loans. It appears to us, therefore, that it would be a more direct and simple method, to apply those supplementary loans at once to the purpose for which portions of the war taxes are detached; in which case, the intervention of the war taxes would be quite unnecessary. This will appear more evident by an example. To make up the sum of 32,000,000*l*, 11,000,000*l* is wanted in addition to the war taxes. L.12,000,000 are borrowed, together with a supplementary loan of 200,000*l.*, for which taxes are imposed. For the interest and sinking fund of this war loan, the sum of 1,200,000*l* is required: 1,000,000*l.* of which being deducted from the war loan, and 200,000*l.* being made up by the supplementary loan, leaves 11,000,000*l.* the sum wanted for the service of the state; the war taxes being all applied as they are at this moment, and neither broken in upon or replaced.

It appears to us, also, that the operation of the sinking fund is quite nugatory. When nations or individuals set apart a portion of their annual revenue to accumulate at compound interest, this is no doubt the sure way to grow rich. But we do not well see how they can improve their circumstances by *borrowing* money, and allowing it to accumulate at compound interest. If a sum of money be borrowed, and 10 *per cent.* be annually borrowed along with it, 5 *per cent.* for the payment of interest, and 5 *per cent.* for a sinking fund, the borrower will always be precisely in the same situation as if nothing had been borrowed for a sinking fund; because, as he can only add to the sinking fund by borrowing, the more he adds to it, the more he adds to his debt. It may be thought,

thought, perhaps, that something may be gained by the compound interest which the sinking fund accumulates. But it is evident that no compound interest can accumulate on a sum of borrowed money, because the interest must be paid annually. Although the interest were borrowed, this would not alter the case. It would no doubt allow the sinking fund to accumulate; but the borrower would, in the mean time, accumulate his debts in the same proportion. It is impossible that the circumstances either of a nation, or of an individual, can be altered, by accumulating a fund of borrowed money.

We have already endeavoured to show, that the interest and sinking fund of the war loans is really paid by the supplementary loans, the intervention of the war taxes being noway necessary for that purpose. The supplementary loans, however, are borrowed. By setting apart, therefore, a portion of them for a sinking fund, we are accumulating debt as fast as we are accumulating funds for its payment. The sinking fund will leave our affairs precisely in the same situation in which it found them. But although we conceive that these provisions respecting the intervention of the war taxes and the sinking fund, might be dispensed with, we do not think that they will contribute in the slightest degree to defeat the great object of the measure, far less will they be attended with ruinous consequences to the finances of the country.

We are aware, indeed, that a contrary opinion has been asserted, and that a great deal of absurd declamation has been poured forth upon this topic, in order to discredit the measure. A series of financial resolutions is said to have been moved in the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, in which it was actually pretended, that by the plan of double loans, *i. e.* by borrowing annually 10 *per cent.* on the principal loans, 5 *per cent.* for interest, and 5 *per cent.* for a sinking fund, a loss of twenty-nine millions would be ultimately incurred by the public. Now, it may be asked, how can this happen? By what process, in the mysterious art of borrowing and lending money, can such unheard of results be produced? To borrow annually 5 *per cent.* to be set apart as a sinking fund for the redemption of debt, is, we allow a nugatory operation. But as long as what is borrowed is neither wasted nor misapplied, we cannot well conceive how money can in this way be either saved or lost. We throw out these plain considerations for the benefit of the noble person alluded to, and of all future calculators. We are sanguine enough to hope, that if they duly attend to them, they will not plod on from blunder to blunder, through a mass of laborious calculations, until their imagination, heated with the prospect of

great discoveries, scorns the sober assaults of arithmetic, and will be content with nothing short of the marvellous. We will not be so cruel as to annoy our readers with all the idle details of those resolutions. We may however subjoin, as a specimen of their general truth and accuracy, the following calculations, in which the expense of redeeming a principal, by means of a one *per cent.* annuity, is contrasted with the expense incurred by means of Lord Henry Petty's plan. The sum to be redeemed is twelve millions.

NEW PLAN.

Ten *per cent.* interest and sinking fund on, 12,000,000l. for one year - - - - -	L. 1,200,000
A like charge for thirteen years more, at which time the principal is redeemed - -	15,600,000
Total payments	L. 16,800,000

To cover the interest and sinking fund of 1,200,000l. at six *per cent.*, a fund of 72,000l. must be provided in each of the fourteen years; the amount whereof is 1,008,000l.

The latter sum being raised on a one *per cent.* sinking fund, may be considered as an annuity of forty three years.

Payments on account thereof - - -	43,344,000
Payments as above - - - -	16,800,000
Total payments	L. 60,144,000

PRESENT SYSTEM.

The interest and sinking fund on a loan of 12,000,000*l.* at six *per cent*, amounts, *per annum*, to 720,000*l.*

This charge being raised on a one *per cent.* sinking fund, may be considered as an annuity of forty-three years.

Payments to be made on account thereof till its redemption, 30,960,000*l.*

Payments on new system, upon a loan of 12,000,000l. L. 60,144,000

Ditto on present system, - -	30,960,000
Excess of the charge of redemption by new system	L. 29,184,000

It is evident that two plans are here compared, which are in all respects totally different from each other; and that, while the expenses of what is called the new plan, are very absurdly exaggerated, its benefits are in a great measure overlooked. The ingenious calculator seems so intent on swelling out the debtor side of the account, that he has omitted the creditor side altogether. He

He has thus committed a mistake of about the same magnitude as that of Sir Francis Wronghead, when he said Aye, instead of saying No. But besides the arithmetical errors into which he has fallen, no sound principle is laid down for comparing the relative advantages or disadvantages of the two different plans. The scheme by which he pretends to estimate the expense of the new plan, is peculiarly unsatisfactory; and even if his calculations were correct, they are quite inconclusive. All consideration of compound interest seems to be wholly excluded, without which, however, it is impossible to enter with any certainty into the complicated details of loans, annuities or sinking funds, on a great scale. The truth of these observations will appear from a more particular consideration of the scheme. The expense of redeeming a debt of 12,000,000l. by means of a sinking fund of *5 per cent.*, is first considered, and it is estimated at 16,800,000l.; the expense of redeeming 16,800,000l. by an annuity of 1 *per cent.* is next calculated at 43,344,000l.; and the sum to be redeemed is added (upon what principle we are utterly at a loss to conceive) to the expense of redemption, by which the whole charge is made to amount to 60,144,000l. It is, however, evidently an error to add the sum to be redeemed to the charge for redemption, as that charge cannot possibly be incurred till the original sum be paid. The 16,800,000l. must therefore be deducted; which will reduce the expense to 43,344,000l. The expense of redeeming 12,000,000l. by 1 *per cent.* annuity, is next compared with the expense of redeeming 16,800,000l. by an annuity to the same amount; and it does not require very deep thought to perceive, that it will cost more to redeem the latter sum than the former. The question to be considered therefore is, whether value has been received for the 16,800,000*l.* It appears that half of that sum has been paid for the interest of the 12,000,000*l.* during fourteen years; and the other half has been set apart as a sinking fund to redeem the principal. With 16,800,000*l.*, therefore, the interest of 12,000,000*l.* for fourteen years has been paid, and the principal has been redeemed: and, were we to imitate the example of inaccuracy set before us, we should immediately conclude that a great advantage was gained by this plan. But this advantage is merely apparent; and it only shows what a fertile source of error is opened, by adopting such an imperfect mode of calculation.

Indeed, all calculations must be exceedingly lame and inconclusive, from which the consideration of compound interest is excluded. The true nature of the transaction will appear from the following simple considerations. A sum of 12,000,000*l.* is borrowed, and an annuity of 1,200,000*l.* is borrowed along with it,

by which, in fourteen years, the principal is redeemed, and the interest is also paid. An annuity of 1,200,000l. for fourteen years is therefore given in exchange for a capital of 12,000,000l. and for the interest of that capital for fourteen years. The value of the interest of 12,000,000l. for fourteen years, is exactly, 12,000,000l.; and an annuity of 1,200,000l. for the same period, is worth 24,000,000l.; so that there can neither be loss nor gain on the transaction. Besides the most ridiculous blunder of adding the sum to be redeemed to the expense of redemption, Lord Castlereagh has forgot to credit the plan with the interest of 12,000,000l. for fourteen years, for which it is evident that the 16,800,000l. pays.

Although, however, the labours of the noble Lord do not appear to us to have been, in the present instance, attended with prosperous results, we very willingly allow, that great depth and comprehension of judgment have been displayed in the construction of these formidable calculations. His genius seems peculiarly fitted for arithmetical studies, and we discover with pleasure that it is in the most common, and consequently the most useful, sort of arithmetic, that his talents appear chiefly to shine. In this great crisis of human affairs, it is peculiarly gratifying to reflect, that while the French youth are taught almost exclusively to glory in feats of arms, men of rank in this country, with a virtuous distaste for warlike pursuits, are studious to excel in the more innocent, and certainly not less wonderful talent, of speaking for an hour, and saying nothing.

We cannot conclude our remarks on this subject, without observing, that the great debt of this country, and the difficulty of finding out new resources of taxation, has not only secured to financial discussions that attention which their importance so well deserves; but it has exalted them among a certain class of politicians above all the grand objects of national policy. The state of a nation's finances is now habitually referred to as a sure criterion of her power; and, from the language often held on this subject, it might be imagined, that the whole duties of a statesman centred in devising easy methods of raising money. During the last war we were told that France was on the verge, and even in the very gulph of bankruptcy, and our own flourishing finances were at the same time brought very ostentatiously under our review. We still hear on every occasion about our 'proud structure of finance,' &c.; and the praises of Mr Pitt generally bring up the rear of this heavy declamation. Now, if France, since the ruin of her finances, has trampled on the necks of all her enemies, and has risen to unexampled preeminence and power, and if Britain, with her flourishing finances, has been unable to prevent the destruction

tion of her allies, and, instead of attaining for herself permanent security, sees every day new perils thickening around her, we may well inquire, what fruits have our flourishing finances produced? and what has it availed, that a large revenue has been collected, if it has been lavished on futile or disastrous projects? So enamoured are these declaimers with taxation, that they seem to consider it as an ultimate object of policy. They do not reflect that it is not so much by raising a revenue, as by a wise application of it, after it is consigned into his hands, that a statesman can either benefit his country, or acquire lasting renown for himself. In illustration of these observations, we might refer to that period of our history when the glorious fabric of European independence was first reared. Those who assisted in bringing about that event were undoubtedly great statesmen; and the wonderful work which they accomplished is the charter of their well-earned fame. This fame, however, they acquired, not by raising a great revenue, but by working wonders with a small one; and it is a fame in which none need hope to participate, who with far ampler means have failed in the attainment of much humbler ends; and, instead of rendering England the arbitress of nations, have reduced her to maintain an anxious struggle for her security and independence.

ART. VI. *A Portraiture of Quakerism, as taken from a View of the Moral Education, Discipline, Peculiar Customs, Religious Principles, Political and Civil Economy, and Character, of the Society of Friends.* By Thomas Clarkson, M. A. Author of several Essays on the Subject of the Slave Trade. 8vo. 3 vol. London. 1806.

THIS, we think, is a book peculiarly fitted for reviewing: for it contains many things which most people will have some curiosity to hear about; and is at the same time so intolerably dull and tedious, that no voluntary reader could possibly get through with it.

The author, whose meritorious exertions for the abolition of the slave-trade brought him into public notice a great many years ago, was recommended by this circumstance to the favour and the confidence of the Quakers, who had long been unanimous in that cause; and was led to such an extensive and cordial intercourse with them in all parts of the kingdom, that he came at last to have a more thorough knowledge of their tenets and living manners, than any other person out of the society could easily obtain. The effect of this knowledge has evidently been to ex-

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cite in him such an affection and esteem for those worthy sectaries, as we think can scarcely fail to issue in his public conversion; and, in the mean time, has produced a more minute exposition, and a more elaborate defence of their doctrines and practices, than has yet been drawn from any of their own body.

The book, which is full of repetitions and plagiarisms, is distributed into a number of needless sections, arranged in a most unnatural and inconvenient order. All that any body can want to know about the Quakers might evidently have been told either under the head of their doctrinal tenets, or of their peculiar practices; but Mr Clarkson, with a certain elaborate infelicity of method, chooses to discuss the merits of this society under the several titles of their moral education—their discipline—their peculiar customs—their religion—their great tenets—and their character; and not finding even this ample distribution sufficient to include all he had to say on the subject, he fills half a volume with repetitions and trifles, under the humiliating name of miscellaneous particulars.

Quakerism had certainly undergone a considerable change in the quality and spirit of its votaries, from the time when George Foxwent about pronouncing woes against cities, attacking priests in their pulpits, and exhorting justices of the peace to do justice, to the time when such men as Penn and Barclay came into the society 'by convincement,' and published such vindications of its doctrine, as few of its opponents have found it convenient to answer. The change since their time appears to have been much more inconsiderable. The greater part of these volumes may be considered, indeed, as a wilful deterioration of Barclay's Apology; and it is only where he treats of the private manners and prevailing opinions of the modern Quakers, that Mr Clarkson communicates any thing which a curious reader might not have learnt from that celebrated production. The laudatory and argumentative tone which he maintains throughout, gives an air of partiality to his statements, which naturally diminishes our reliance on their accuracy: and as the argument is often extremely bad, and the praise apparently unmerited, we are rather inclined to think that his work will make a less powerful impression in favour of the 'friends,' than might have been effected by a more moderate advocate. With many praiseworthy maxims and principles for their moral conduct, the Quakers, we think, have but little to say for most of their peculiar practices; and make a much better figure when defending their theological mysteries, than when vindicating the usages by which they are separated from the rest of the people in the ordinary intercourse of life. It will be more convenient, however, to state our observations

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on their reasonings, as we attend Mr Clarkson through his account of their principles and practice.

He enters upon his task with such a wretched display of false eloquence, that we were very near throwing away the book. Our readers will scarcely accuse us of impatience, when we inform them that the dissertation on the moral education of the Quakers begins with the following sentence.

'When the blooming spring sheds abroad its benign influence, man feels it equally with the rest of created nature. The blood circulates more freely, and a new current of life seems to be diffused in his veins. The aged man is enlivened, and the sick man feels himself refreshed. Good spirits and cheerful countenances succeed. But as the year changes in its seasons, and rolls round to its end, the tide seems to slacken, and the current of feeling to return to its former level.' Vol. I. p. 13.

This may serve, once for all, as a specimen of Mr Clarkson's taste, and his powers in fine writing, and as an apology for our abstaining, in our charity, from making any further observations on his style. Under the head of moral education, we are informed that the Quakers discourage, and strictly prohibit in their youth, all games of chance, music, dancing, novel reading, field sports of every description, and, in general, the use of idle words and unprofitable conversation. The motives of these several prohibitions are discussed in separate chapters of extreme dulness and prolixity. It is necessary, however, in order to come to a right understanding with those austere persons and their apologist, to enter a little into these discussions.

The basis of the Quaker morality seems evidently to be, that gaiety and merriment ought upon all occasions, to be discouraged; that every thing which tends merely to exhilaration or enjoyment, has in it a taint of criminality; and that one of the chief duties of man is to be always serious and solemn, and constantly occupied, either with his worldly prosperity, or his eternal welfare. If it were not for this attention which is permitted to the accumulation of wealth, the Quakers would scarcely be distinguishable from the other gloomy sectaries, who maintain that man was put into this world for no other purpose, but to mortify himself into a proper condition for the next;—that all our feelings of ridicule and sociality, and all the spring and gaiety of the animal spirits of youth, were given us only for our temptation; and that, considering the shortness of this life, and the risk he runs of damnation after it, man ought evidently to pass his days in dejection and terror, and to shut his heart to every pleasureable emotion which this transitory scene might supply to the unthinking. The fundamental folly of these ascetic maxims has prevented the Quakers from adopting them in their full extent; but all the peculiarities of their manners may evidently be refer-

red to this source; and the qualifications and exceptions under which they maintain the duty of abstaining from enjoyment, serve only, in most instances, to bring upon their reasonings the additional charge of inconsistency.

Their objection to cards, dice, wagers, horse-races, &c. is said to be, first, that they may lead to a spirit of gaming, which leads, again, to obvious unhappiness and immorality; but chiefly, that they are sources of amusement unworthy of a sober Christian, and tend, by producing an unreasonable excitement, to disturb that tranquillity and equanimity which they look upon as essential to moral virtue.

'They believe,' says Mr Clarkson, 'that stillness and quietness, both of spirit and of body, are necessary, as far as they can be obtained. Hence, Quaker children are rebuked for all expressions of anger, as tending to raise those feelings which ought to be suppressed; a raising even of the voice beyond due bounds, is discouraged as leading to the disturbance of their minds. They are taught to rise in the morning in quietness; to go about their ordinary occupation with quietness; and to retire in quietness to their beds.'

Now this, we think, is a very miserable picture. The great curse of life, we believe, in all conditions above the lowest, is its excessive stillness and quietness, and the want of excitement which it affords; and though we certainly do not approve of cards and wagers as the best exhilarators of the spirits, we cannot possibly concur in the principle upon which they are rejected with such abhorrence by this rigid society. A remark which Mr Clarkson himself makes afterwards, might have led him to doubt of the soundness of their petrifying principles.

'It has often been observed,' he says, 'that a *Quaker boy* has an unnatural appearance. The idea has arisen from his dress and his sedateness, which, taken together, have produced an appearance of age above the youth in his countenance. I have often been surprised to hear young Quakers talk of the folly and vanity of pursuits, in which persons, older than themselves, were then embarking in pursuit of pleasure,' &c.

We feel no admiration, we will confess, for prodigies of this description, and think that the world is but little indebted to those moralists, who, in their efforts to ameliorate our condition, begin with constraining the volatile spirit of childhood into sedateness, and extinguishing the happy carelessness and animation of youth, by lessons of eternal quietness.

The next chapter is against music, and is, as might be expected, the most absurd and extravagant of the whole. This is Mr Clarkson's statement of the Quaker reasoning against this delightful art.

'Providence gave originally to man a beautiful and a perfect world. He

He filled it with things necessary, and things delightful: and yet man has often turned these from their true and original design. The very wood on the surface of the earth he has cut down, and the very stone and metal in its bowels he has hewn and cast, and converted into a graven image, and worshipped in the place of his beneficent Creator. The food which has been given him for his nourishment, he has frequently converted, by his intemperance, into the means of injuring his health. The wine, that was designed to make his heart glad, on reasonable and necessary occasions, he has used often to the stupefaction of his senses, and the degradation of his moral character. The very raiment, which has been afforded him for his body, he has abused also, so that it has frequently become a source for the excitement of his pride.

'Just so it has been, and so it is, with music, at the present day.' I. p. 41, 42.

From which, if it follows that music ought to be entirely rejected and avoided, it must follow also, that we should go naked, and neither eat nor drink; and as to the arguments that follow against the cultivation of music, because there are some obscene and some bacchanalian songs, which it would be improper for young persons to learn, they are just such as might be used against their learning to read, because there are immoral and heretical books, which may possibly fall into their hands. The most authentic and sincere reason, however, we believe, is one which rests immediately upon the general ascetic principle to which we have already made reference, viz. that 'music tends to *self-gratification*, which is not allowable in the Christian system.' Now, as this same self-denying principle is really at the bottom of most of the Quaker prohibitions, it may be worth while to consider, in a few words, how far it can be reconciled to reason or morality.

All men, we humbly conceive, are under the necessity of pursuing their own happiness; and cannot even be conceived as ever pursuing any thing else. The only difference between the sensualist and the ascetic is, that the former pursues an immediate, and the other a remote happiness; or, that the one pursues an intellectual, and the other a bodily gratification. The penitent who passes his days in mortification, does so unquestionably from the love of enjoyment; either because he thinks this the surest way to attain eternal happiness in a future world, or because he finds the admiration of mankind a sufficient compensation, even in this life, for the hardships by which he extorts it. It appears, therefore, that self-gratification, so far from being an unlawful object of pursuit, is necessarily the only object which a rational being can be conceived to pursue; and consequently, that to argue against any practice, merely that it is attended with enjoyment, is to give it a recommendation which must operate in its favour, even

even with the most rigid moralist. The only consistent form of the argument is that which was adopted by the mortified hermits of the early ages, but it is expressly disclaimed for the Quakers by their present apologist, viz that our well-being in this world is a matter of so very little concern, that it is altogether unworthy of a reasonable being to bestow any care upon it; and that our chance of well being in another world depends so much upon our anxious endeavours after piety upon earth, that it is our duty to employ every moment in meditation and prayer, and altogether sinful and imprudent to indulge any propensities which may interrupt those holy exercises, or beget in us any interest in sublunary things.

There is, evidently, a tacit aspiration after this sublime absurdity in almost all the Quaker prohibitions; and we strongly suspect, that honest George Fox, when he inhabited a hollow tree in the vale of Beevor, taught nothing less to his disciples. The condemnation of music and dancing, and all idle speaking, was therefore quite consistent in him; but since the permission of gainful arts, and of most of the luxuries which wealth can procure, to his disciples, it is no longer so easy to reconcile these condemnations, either to reason, or to the rest of their practice. A Quaker may suspend the care of his salvation, and occupy himself entirely with his worldly business, for six days in the week, like any other Christian. It is even thought laudable in him to set an example of diligence and industry to those around him; and the fruits of this industry he is by no means required to bestow in relieving the poor, or for the promotion of piety. He is allowed to employ it for self-gratification, in almost every way but the most social and agreeable. He may keep an excellent table and garden, and be driven about in an easy chariot by a pious coachman and four plump horses; but his plate must be without carving; and his carriage and horses (perhaps his flowers also) of a dusky colour. His guests may talk of oxen and broad cloth as long as they think fit; but wit and gaiety are entirely proscribed, and topics of literature but rarely tolerated. His boys and girls are bred up to a premature knowledge of bargaining and housekeeping; but when their bounding spirits are struggling in every limb, they must not violate their *sedateness* by a single skip;—their *stillness* must not be disturbed by raising their voices beyond their common pitch;—and they would be disowned, if they were to tune their innocent voices in a hymn to their great Benefactor. We cannot help saying, that all this is absurd and indefensible. Either let the Quakers renounce all the enjoyments of this life, or take all that are innocent. The pursuit of wealth surely holds out a greater temptation to immorality, than the study

study of music. Let them disown those who accumulate more than is necessary for their subsistence, or permit those who have leisure to employ it in something better than money-getting. To permit a man to have a house and retinue, from the expenses of which fifty poor families might be supported, and at the same time to interdict a fold in his coat, or a ruffle to his shirt, on account of their costliness and vanity, is as ridiculous, and as superstitious, as it is for the Church of Rome to permit one of her cardinals to sit down, on a meagre day, to fifty costly and delicious dishes of fish and pastry, while it excommunicates a peasant for breaking through the holy abstinence with a morsel of rusty bacon. With those general impressions, we shall easily dispose of their other peculiarities.

The amusements of the theatre are strictly forbidden to Quakers of every description; and this, partly because many plays are immoral, but chiefly because, on the stage, 'men personate characters that are not their own; and thus become altogether sophisticated in their looks, words and actions, which is contrary to the simplicity and truth required by Christianity.' We scarcely think the Quakers will be much obliged to Mr Clarkson for imputing this kind of reasoning to them. We would rather hear at once that the playhouse was the Devil's drawing-room, and that the actors paint their faces, and deserve the fate of Jezebel. As to the sin of personating characters not their own, and sophisticating their looks and words, it is necessarily committed by every man who reads aloud a dialogue from the New Testament, or who adopts, from the highest authority, a dramatic form in his preaching. As to the other objection, that theatrical amusements produce too high a degree of excitement for the necessary sedateness of a good Christian, we answer in the first place, that we do not see why a good Christian should be more still and sedate than his innocence and natural gaiety incline him to be; and, in the second place, that the objection proves Mr Clarkson to be laudably ignorant of the state of the modern drama, which, we are credibly informed, is by no means so extremely interesting, as to make men neglect their business and their duties to run after it.

Next comes dancing.—The Quakers prohibit this strictly: 1st, because it implies the accompaniment of music, which has been already interdicted; 2dly, because 'it is useless, and below the dignity of the Christian character;' 3dly, because it implies assemblies of idle persons, which lead to thoughtlessness as to the important duties of life; 4thly, because it gives rise to silly vanity, and envying, and malevolence. The lovers of dancing, we think, will be able to answer those objections without our assistance;

sistance; such of them as have not been already obviated, are applicable, and are in fact applied by the Quakers to every species of accomplishment. They are applicable also, though the Quakers do not apply them, to all money-getting occupations in which there is room for rivalry and competition.

The reading of novels is next prohibited, not so much, Mr Clarkson assures us, on account of their fictitious nature, though that is ground enough for the abhorrence of many Quakers, but on account of their general immorality, and their tendency to produce an undue excitement of mind, and to alienate the attention from objects of serious importance. These are good reasons against the reading of immoral novels, and against making them our sole or our principal study. Other moralists are contented with selecting and limiting the novels they allow to be read. The Quakers alone make it an abomination to read any; which is like prohibiting all use of wine or animal food, instead of restricting our censures to the excess or abuse of them.

Last of all, the sports of the field are prohibited, partly on account of the animal suffering they produce, and partly from the habits of idleness and ferocity which they are supposed to generate. This is Mr Clarkson's account of the matter; but we shall probably form a more correct idea of the true Quaker, from being told that George Fox 'considered that man in the fall, or the apostate man, had a vision so indistinct and vitiated, that he could not see the animals of the creation as he ought; but that the man who was restored, or the spiritual Christian, had a new and clear discernment concerning them, which would oblige him to consider and treat them in a proper manner.' The Quakers, however, allow the netting of animals for food; and cannot well object to shooting them, provided it be gone about for the same economical purpose, and not for self-gratification,—at least in the act of killing.

Mr Clarkson proceeds next to discuss the discipline, as he calls it, or interior government of the Quaker society; but we think it more natural to proceed to the consideration of what he announces as their peculiar customs, which, for any thing we see, might all have been classed among the prohibitions which constitute their moral education.

The first is the peculiarity of their dress. The original rule, he says, was only that it should be plain and cheap. He vindicates George Fox from the charge of having gone about in a leathern doublet; and maintains, that the present dress of the Quakers is neither more nor less than the common dress of grave and sober persons of the middling rank at the first institution of the society; and that they have retained it, not out of any superstitious

tious opinion of its sanctity, but because they thought it would indicate a frivolous vanity to change it, unless for some reason of convenience. Except that the men now wear loops to their hats, and that the women have in a great measure given up their black hoods and green aprons, their *costume* is presumed to be almost exactly the same as it was nearly two hundred years ago. They have a similar rule as to their furniture; which, though sometimes elegant and costly, is uniformly plain, and free from glare or ostentation. In conformity with this principle, they do not decorate their houses with pictures or prints, and in general discourage the practice of taking portraits; for which piece of abstinence Mr Clarkson gives the following simple reason. 'The first Quakers, considering themselves as poor helpless creatures, and as little better than dust and ashes, had but a mean idea of their own images!'

One of the most prominent peculiarities in the Quaker customs, relates to their language. They insist, in the first place, upon saying thou, instead of you; and this was an innovation upon which their founder seems to have valued himself at least as much as upon any other part of his system. 'The use of thou,' says honest George Fox, with visible complacency, 'was a sore cut to proud flesh;' and many beatings, and revilings, and hours of durance in the stocks, did he triumphantly endure for his intrepid adherence to this grammatical propriety. Except that it is (or rather was) grammatically correct, we really can see no merit in this form of speech. The chief Quaker reason for it, however, is, that the use of 'you' to a single person is a heinous piece of flattery, and an instance of the grossest and meanest adulation. It is obvious, however, that what is applied to all men without exception, cannot well be adulation. If princes and patrons alone were called 'you,' while 'thou' was still used to inferiors or equals, we would understand why the levelling principle of the Quakers should set itself against the distinction; but if 'you' be invariably and indiscriminately used to the very lowest of mankind,—to negroes, felons, and toad-eaters,—it is perfectly obvious, that no person's vanity can possibly be puffed up by receiving it, and that the most contemptuous misanthropist may employ it without any scruple. Comparing the said pronouns together, indeed, in this respect it is notorious, that 'thou' is, with us, by far the most flattering compellation of the two. It is the form in which men address the Deity: and in which all tragical love letters, and verses of solemn adulation, are conceived. 'You' belongs unquestionably to familiar and equal conversation. In truth, it is altogether absurd to consider 'you' as exclusively a plural pronoun in the modern English language. It may be a matter

matter of *history* that it was originally used as a plural only; and it may be a matter of *theory* that it was first applied to individuals on a principle of flattery; but the *fact* is, that it is now our second person singular. When applied to an individual, it never excites any idea either of plurality or of adulation: but excites precisely and exactly the idea that was excited by the use of 'thou' in an earlier stage of the language. There is no more impropriety in the use of it, therefore, than in the use of any modern term which has superseded an obsolete one; nor any more virtue in reviving the use of 'thou,' than there would be in reviving any other antiquated word. It would be just as reasonable to talk always of our *doublets* and *hose*, and eschew all mention of *coats* or *stockings*, as a fearful abomination.

The same observations apply to the other Quaker principle of refusing to call any man Mr or Sir, or to subscribe themselves in their letters, any man's humble servant. Their reasons for this refusal, are, 1st, that the common phrases import a falsehood; and, 2dly, that they puff up vain man with conceit. Now, as to the falsehood, we have to observe, that the words objected to, really do not mean any thing about bondage or dominion when used on those occasions; and neither are so understood, nor are in danger of being so understood, by any one who hears them. Words are significant sounds; and it is solely in consequence of the meaning they convey, that men can be responsible for using them. Now, the only meaning which can be inquired after in this respect, is the meaning of the person who speaks, and of the person who hears; but neither the speaker nor the hearer, with us, understand the appellation of Mr, prefixed to a man's name, to import any mastership or dominion in him relatively to the other. It is merely a customary addition, which means nothing but that you wish to speak of the individual with civility. That the word employed to signify this, is the same word, or very near the same word, with one which, on other occasions, signifies a master over servants, does not at all affect its meaning upon this occasion. It does not signify any such thing when prefixed to a man's proper name; and though it might have been used at first out of servility with a view to that relation, it is long since that connexion has been lost; and it now signifies nothing but what is perfectly true and correct. Etymology can point out a multitude of words which have thus come to acquire a variety of significations, and which even the Quakers think it sufficiently lawful to use in them all. A *stage* signifies a certain distance on the road—or a raised platform—or a carriage that travels periodically—or a certain point in the progress of any affair. It could easily be shown, too, that all these different meanings spring from each other,

other, and were gradually attributed to what was originally one and the same word. The words, however, are now multiplied to correspond with the meanings; and though they have the same sound and orthography, are never confounded by any one who is acquainted with the language. There is, in fact, the same difference between the word master, implying power and authority over servants, and the word Master or Mister prefixed to a proper name, and implying merely a certain degree of respect and civility. That there is no deception either intended or effected, must be admitted by the Quakers themselves; and it is not easy to conceive how the guilt of falsehood can be incurred without some such intention. Upon the very same principle, they would themselves be guilty of falsehood, if they called a friend by his name of *Walker*, when he was mounted in his one-horse chaise,—or by his name of *Smith*, if he did not happen to be a worker in metal. The most amusing part of the matter, indeed, is, that in their abhorrence of this etymological falsehood, they have themselves adopted a practice, which is liable, on the same principles, to more serious objections. Though they will not call any body Sir or Master, they call every body 'Friend;' although it is evident that, to a stranger, this must be mere civility, like the words they reject, and to an enemy must approach nearly to insincerity. They have rejected an established phraseology, therefore, to adopt one much more proper to fill them with scruples. We have dwelt too long however, on this paltry casuistry; and must leave our readers to apply these observations to our common epistolary salutations, which are all in the same predicament.

For similar, or rather for more preposterous reasons, the Quakers have changed the names of the months and of the days of the week. Some of them are named, it seems, after the heathen Gods; and therefore the use of them 'seemed to be expressive of a kind of idolatrous homage.' If such a new kalendar had been devised by the original Christians, when March and June were not only named after Mars and Juno, but distinguished by particular festivals in their honour, we could have comprehended the motive of the innovation; but, now-a-days, when Mars and Juno are no more thought of than Hector or Hecuba, and when men would as soon think of worshipping an ape or a crododile as either of them, it does appear to us the very acmè of absurdity to suppose that there can be any idolatry in naming their names. In point of fact, whatever the matter may be etymologically, or historically, we conceive that Wednesday and Thursday are words in modern English, that have no sort of reference to the gods Woden and Thor. They raise no idea connected with these personages; and are never used with the intention

intention of raising any such idea. As they are used at present, therefore, they do not signify days dedicated to these divinities, but merely the days that come between Tuesday and Friday in our kalendar. Those who think otherwise must maintain also, that the English word *expedient*, actually signifies untying of feet, and the word *consideration*, a tacking of stars together.

Another of their peculiar customs is, that they will not pull off their hats or make a bow to any body. This is one of their most ancient and respected canons. 'George Fox,' Mr Clarkson assures us, 'was greatly grieved about these idle ceremonies. He lamented that men should degrade themselves by the use of them, and that they should encourage habits that were abhorrent of the truth.' Honest George! He was accordingly repeatedly beaten and abused for his refractoriness in this particular; and a long story is told in this volume, of a controversy he had with Judge Glynn, whom he posed with a citation from Daniel, purporting, that the three children were cast into the fiery furnace 'with their hats on.' Is it possible however to believe, that any rational being can imagine that there is any sin in lifting off one's hat, or bending the body? It is an easy and sufficiently convenient way of showing our respect or attention. A good natured man could do a great deal more to gratify a mere stranger; and if there be one individual who would take the omission amiss, that alone would be a sufficient reason for persisting in the practice.

Mr Clarkson next discusses the private manners of this rigid sect, and admits that they are rather dull, cold, and taciturn. Their principles prohibit them from the use of idle words; under which they include every sort of conversation introduced merely for gaiety or amusement. Their deficiency in classical literature cuts off another great topic. Politics are proscribed, as leading to undue warmth; and all sorts of scandal, and allusion to public spectacles or amusements, for a more fundamental reason. Thus they have little to talk about but their health, their business, or their religion; and all these things they think it a duty to discuss in a concise and sober manner. They say no graces; but when their meal is on the table, they sit silent and in a thoughtful posture for a short time, waiting for an illapse of the spirit. If they are not moved to make any ejaculation, they begin to eat without more ado. They drink no healths, nor toasts; though not so much from the inconvenience of the thing, as because they conceive this to have been a bacchanalian practice borrowed from the heathens of antiquity. They are very sober; and instead of sitting over their wine after dinner, frequently propose to their guests a walk before tea; the females do not leave the party during this interval. Their marriages are

attended

attended with no other ceremony, than that of taking each other by the hand in a public meeting, and declaring their willingness to be united. Notice must be given of this intention at a previous meeting, when the consent of their parents is required, and a deputation appointed to inquire whether they are free from all previous engagements. Quakers marrying out of the society are disowned, though they be again received into membership on expressing their repentance for their marriage; a declaration which cannot be very flattering to the infidel spouse. There are many more women than men disowned for this transgression. The funerals of the Quakers are as free from solemnity as their marriages. They wear no mourning, and do not even cover their coffins with black;—their burying ground receives no consecration;—they use no prayers;—the body is generally carried to the meeting-house, before it is committed to the earth, and a short pause is made, during which any one who feels himself moved to speak, may address the congregation;—it is set down for a little time, also, at the edge of the grave, for the same opportunity;—it is then interred, and the friends and relations walk away. They use no vaults, and erect no monuments,—though they sometimes collect and preserve some account of the lives and sayings of their more eminent and pious ministers.

On the subject of trade there is a good deal of casuistry among the Quakers. They strictly prohibit the slave-trade, and had the merit of passing a severe censure upon it so long ago as 1727. They also prohibit privateering, smuggling, and all traffic in weapons of war. Most other trades they allow; but under certain limitations. A Quaker may be a bookseller; but he must not sell any immoral book. He may be a dealer in spirits; but he must not sell to those whom he knows to be drunkards. He may even be a silversmith; but he must not deal in splendid ornaments for the person. In no case may he recommend his goods as fashionable. It is much and learnedly disputed in this volume, whether he may make or sell ribands and other fineries of this sort; or whether, as a tailor or hatter, he may furnish any other articles than such as the society patronizes. Mention is also made of a Quaker tailor well known to King James the Second, who was so scrupulous in this respect, that 'he would not allow his servants to put any corruptive finery upon the clothes which he had been employed to furnish;' and of one John Woolman, who 'found himself sensibly weakened as a Christian, whenever he traded in things that served chiefly to please the vain mind, or people.' Apart from these fopperies, however, the Quaker regulations for trade are excellent. They discourage all hazardous speculations, and all fictitious

paper credit. If a member becomes bankrupt, a committee is appointed to inspect his affairs. If his insolvency is reported to have been produced by misconduct, he is disowned, and cannot be received back till he has paid his whole debts, even although he may have been discharged on a composition. If he has failed through misfortune, he continues in the society, though no contributions are received from him till his debts are fully paid.

When Quakers disagree, they seldom scold; and never fight or go to law. George Fox recommended them to settle all their differences by arbitration; and they have adhered to this practice ever since. Where the arbitrators are puzzled about the law, they are to agree on a case, and consult counsel. When a Quaker disagrees with a person out of the society, he generally proposes arbitration in the first instance; if this be refused, he has no scruple of going to law.

We should now proceed to give some account of what Mr Clarkson has called the four Great Tenets of the Quakers; but the length to which we have already extended these remarks must confine our observations to very narrow limits. The first is, That the civil magistrate has no right to interfere in religious matters, so as either to enforce attendance on one mode of worship, or to interdict any other which is harmless. In this, certainly, their doctrine is liable to very little objection. Their second great tenet is, That it is unlawful to swear upon any occasion whatsoever. We have not leisure now to discuss this point with Mr Clarkson; indeed, from the obstruction which this scruple has so often occasioned to law proceedings, it has been discussed much oftener than any of the rest. Those who want to see a neat and forcible abstract of the Quaker reasoning on the subject, had better look into Barclay at once, instead of wading through the amplification of Mr Clarkson. Their third great tenet is, That it is unlawful to engage in the profession of arms. This is founded entirely upon a literal interpretation of certain texts of scripture, requiring men to love and bless their enemies, and to turn one cheek to him who had smitten the other, &c. It is commonly supposed, we believe, that these expressions were only meant to shadow out, by a kind of figure, that amicable and gentle disposition by which men should be actuated in their ordinary intercourse with each other, and by no means to be made the formal directors of their conduct through life. In any other sense, indeed, they would evidently amount to an encouragement to all sorts of violence and injustice, and would entirely disable and annihilate all civil government or authority among men. If evil is not to be resisted, and if the man who takes a cloak is to be pressed to a coat also, it is plain that the punishment of thieves and robbers must be just as unlawful as the resisting of invaders. It is remarkable.

markable, indeed, that the Quakers do not carry their literal submission to the scripture quite this length. They would struggle manfully for their cloaks; and, instead of giving the robber their coats also, would be very glad to have him imprisoned and flogged. If they can get rid of the letter of the law, however, in any case, it does appear to us, that there are occasionally stronger reasons for dispensing with the supposed prohibition of war than with any of the others. If they would be justified in killing a wild beast that had rushed into their habitation, they must be justified in killing an invader, who threatens to subject them and the whole community to his brutal lust, rapacity, and cruelty. We must call it a degrading superstition that would withhold the hands of a man in such an emergency. The last great tenet is, That it is unlawful to give pecuniary hire to a gospel ministry. This, again, is entirely a war of texts, aided by a confused reference to the history of tythes, from which the following most logical deductions are made.

'First, that they are not in equity dues of the Church—secondly, that the payment of them being compulsory, it would, if acceded to, be an acknowledgement, that the civil magistrate had a right to use force in matters of religion—and, thirdly, that, being claimed upon an act which holds them forth as of divine right, any payment of them would be an acknowledgement of the Jewish religion, and that Christ had not yet actually come.' III. 141.

After perusing all that we have now abstracted, Mr Clarkson's readers might perhaps have been presumed capable of forming some conclusion for themselves as to the Quaker character; but the author chooses to make the inference for them, in a dissertation of 150 pages, to which we must satisfy ourselves, for the present, with making this general reference. We must use the same liberty with the miscellaneous particulars, which fill nearly as many pages with an attempt to prove that the Quakers are a very happy people; that they have done good by the example of their virtues; and that those who have thoughts of leaving the society, had better think twice, before they take a step of so much consequence.

We come now to say a few words on the subject of their interior government, which appears to us to be formed very much upon the model of the Presbyterian churches established in this part of the kingdom. The basis of the whole system is, that every member of the society is not only entitled, but bound in duty, to watch over the moral and religious deportment of any other whom he has an opportunity of observing, and to interfere for his admonition and correction when he sees cause. Till the year 1698, this duty was not peculiarly imposed upon any individual; but, since

that time, four or five persons are named in each congregation, under the title of overseers, who are expected to watch over the conduct of the flock with peculiar anxiety. The half of these are women, who take charge of their own sex only. Four or five congregations are associated together, and hold a general *monthly* meeting of deputies, of both sexes, from each congregation. Two or more of each sex are deputed from these monthly meetings to the general *quarterly* meeting, which reunites all the congregations of a county, or larger district, according to the extent of the Quaker population; and those, again, send four of each sex to the great yearly meeting or convocation, which is regularly assembled in London, and continues its sitting for ten or twelve days.

The method of prpceeding, where the conduct of a member has been disorderly, is, first, by private admonition, either by individuals, or by the overseers;—where this is not effectual, the case is reported to the monthly meeting, who appoint a committee to deal with him, and, upon their report, either receive him back into communion, or expel him from the society by a written document, entitled, A Testimony of Disownment. From this sentence, however, he may appeal to the quarterly meeting, and from that to the yearly. These courts of review investigate the case by means of a committee; of which none of those who pronounced the sentence complained of, can be members.

In the monthly meetings, all presentations of marriages are received, and births and funerals registered;—contributions and arrangements are made for the relief of the poor;—persons are disowned, or received back;—and cases of scruples are stated and discussed. They likewise prepare answers to a series of standing queries as to the state and condition of their congregations, which they transmit to the quarterly meeting. The quarterly meeting hears appeals,—receives the reports in answer to these queries,—and prepares, in its turn, a more general and comprehensive report for the great annual meeting in London. This assembly, again, hears appeals from the quarterly meetings, and receives their reports; and finally, draws up a public or pastoral letter to the whole society, in which it communicates the most interesting particulars, as to its general state and condition, that have been collected from the reports laid before it,—makes such suitable admonitions and exhortations for their moral and civil conduct, as the complexion of the times, or the nature of these reports have suggested,—and recommends to their consideration any project or proposition that may have been laid before it, for the promotion of religion, and the good of mankind. The slave trade has, of late years, generally formed one of the topics

topics of this general epistle, which is printed and circulated throughout the society. In all their meetings, the male and female deputies hold their meetings, and transact their business, in separate apartments, meeting together only for worship, or for making up their general reports. The wants of the poor are provided for by the monthly meetings, who appoint certain overseers to visit and relieve them: the greater part of these overseers are women; and whatever they find wanting in the course of their visits, money, clothes, or medicines, they order; and their accounts are settled by the treasurer of the monthly meeting. Where it happens that there are more poor in any one district than can easily be relieved by the more opulent brethren within it, the deficiency is supplied by the quarterly meeting to which it is subjected. The children of the poor are all taught to read and write at the public expense, and afterwards bound apprentice to trades;—the females are generally destined for service, and placed in Quaker families.

'Such,' says Mr Clarkson, with a very natural exultation on the good management of his favourites, 'such is the organization of the discipline or government of the Quakers. Nor may it improperly be called a government, when we consider, that, besides all matters relating to the Church, it takes cognizance of the actions of Quakers to Quakers; and of these to their fellow-citizens; and of these, again, to the state; in fact, of all actions of Quakers, if immoral in the eye of the society, as soon as they are known. It gives out its prohibitions. It marks its crimes. It imposes offices on its subjects. It calls them to disciplinary duties. This government, however, notwithstanding its power, has, as I observed before, no president or head, either permanent or temporary. There is no first man through the whole society. Neither has it any badge of office, or mace, or constable's staff, or sword. It may be observed, also, that it has no office of emolument by which its hands can be strengthened; neither minister, elder, clerk, overseer, or deputy, being paid: and yet its administration is firmly conducted, and its laws are better obeyed than laws by persons under any other denomination or government.' I. 246, 247.

We have nothing now to discuss with this good people, but their religion: and with this we will not meddle. It is quite plain to us, that their founder George Fox was exceedingly insane; and though we by no means suspect many of his present followers of the same malady, we cannot help saying that their doctrines are a little too high flown for our humble apprehension. They hold that God has at all times communicated a certain portion of the *spirit*, or *word*, or *light*, to mankind: but has given very different portions of it to different individuals: that, in consequence of this inward illumination, not only the antient patriarchs and prophets, but many of the old heathen philosophers

were very good Christians: that no kind of worship and preaching can be acceptable or profitable, unless it flow from the immediate inspiration and movement of their inward spirit; and that all ordination or appointment of priests, is therefore impious and unavailing. They are much attached to the Holy Ghost; but are supposed to reject the doctrine of the Trinity; and openly reject the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, with all other rites, ordinances, and ceremonies, known or practised in any Christian church. These tenets they justify by various citations from the New Testament, and the older fathers; as any one may see in the works of Barclay and Penn, with rather more satisfaction than in this of Mr Clarkson. We enter not at present into these disputations.

Upon the whole, we are inclined to believe the Quakers to be a tolerably honest, painstaking, and inoffensive set of Christians. Very stupid, dull, and obstinate, we presume, in conversation; and tolerably lumpish and fatiguing in domestic society: active and methodical in their business, and narrow-minded and ill-informed as to most other particulars: beneficent from habit and the discipline of the society; but cold in their affections, and inwardly chilled into a sort of Chinese apathy, by the restraints to which they are continually subjected: childish and absurd in their religious scruples and peculiar usages, and singularly unlearned as a sect of theologians; but exemplary, above all other sects, for the decency of their lives, for their charitable indulgence to all other persuasions, for their care of their poor, and for the liberal participation they have afforded to their women in all the duties and honours of the society.

We would not willingly insinuate any thing against the general sincerity of those who remain in communion with this body; but Mr Clarkson has himself noticed, that when they become opulent, they are very apt to fall off from it; and indeed we do not recollect ever to have seen either a Quaker gentleman of fortune, or a Quaker day-labourer. The truth is, that ninety-nine out of a hundred of them are engaged in trade; and as they all deal and correspond with each other, it is easy to see what advantages they must have as traders, from belonging to so great a corporation. A few follow the medical profession; and a still smaller number that of conveyancing; but they rely, in both, on the support of their brethren of the society. It is rather remarkable, that Mr Clarkson has not given us any sort of estimate or calculation of their present numbers in England, though, from the nature of their government, it must be known to most of their leading members. It is the general opinion, it seems, that they are gradually diminishing.

Art.

ART. VII. *The Stranger in America; Containing Observations made during a Long Residence in that Country, on the Genius, Manners, and Customs of the People of the United States; with Biographical Particulars of Public Characters; Hints and Facts relative to the Arts, Sciences, Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures, Emigration, and the Slave Trade.* By Charles William Janson Esq., late of the State of Rhode Island, Counsellor at Law. 4to. pp. 500. London. Cundee, 1807.

THIS large and most ill arranged volume contains, apparently, whatever Mr Janson could recollect of America, aiding his memory by a few notes and memorandums: for he went thither without any view of becoming an author; made no regular tour; and kept no constant journal of his excursions, or register of his observations. He repaired to the New World to gratify a longing which he had to see it: he was soon tired of it as a sight, and engaged in different speculations;—a land speculation, which failed;—a trading adventure, which shared the same fate;—and, most strange of all, a law speculation,—for he was, in the course of his rambles, called to the bar, and to practice, but found it did not answer. He resided, in this way, above thirteen years in the United States; and on his return, as the custom is, he wrote his book. According to another still more antient custom, he begins by appealing to the 'persuasions of friends' as an apology for publishing it. 'Year after year, it seems, the desire of communicating to the public the result of his observations respecting our once transatlantic brethren' has been restrained, by 'contemplating the many volumes which have appeared on the subject.' This struggle, however, during successive years, must have happened in America; for as he was above thirteen years there, and left Europe in May 1793, he must have returned to England late in 1806, and his book is in the shops early in 1807. It is indeed a most hasty performance; by a person neither accustomed to laborious composition, nor qualified to write without labour; neither capable of selecting his materials, nor of arranging them; and not very eminent in that acuteness, which enables a man well to observe, or profitably to reflect, on what he has witnessed.

A vast mass of anecdotes, facts, declamations, pictures, quotations from noted works, excerpts from unknown books, songs and other verses, newspaper advertisements, and many other articles, are thrown together by a sort of manual exertion; then made into chapters by the same kind of labour, adorned with preface, index, and title-pages; and then advertised for sale. In

all this the hand is more employed than the head; and the reader's mental fatigue is perhaps nearly equal to the author's. A little amusement he may derive from wading through the volume; a stray fact of some value he may catch here and there; but he must not hope for that average proportion between the number of pages and the amount of instruction, which encourages him in his perusal of ordinary books. We shall endeavour to save our readers a part of this labour, and to communicate a fair and just share of the profit.

Mr Janson left England in a very incommodious merchant vessel, commanded by a captain who treated him ill, and kept him nearly the whole voyage on short allowance; and filled with passengers, for whom he seems to have contracted no great degree of friendship. The voyage presented nothing remarkable, except a visit from a French privateer, and a squall. The former occurrence threw our author into a violent passion; the latter gave him a great fright. The behaviour of the captain, too, kept him in constant bad humour; and one of the passengers, an American, provoked him, by showing a dislike of England; and Bob, the cook-boy, comported himself rudely;—all which irritations had so visible an effect on Mr Janson, that he obtained the appellation of the '*Grumbler*,' a name which, from the temper of his whole remarks on America, and indeed on every thing he discusses, we must admit to be sufficiently applicable to him, both on shore and at sea. He asserts, it is true, that his present unfavourable opinion of America and the Americans must be founded in justice, because he went over with the strongest prepossessions in their favour. But such prepossessions are as likely to mislead minds of a certain description, as the most violent prejudices of an unfavourable sort. And we cannot help imputing a great deal of the invective against the manners and productions of the United States, which is so prevalent both in English society and in late books of travels, to this very circumstance—that the persons who speak from their own observation, instead of making up their minds, when they left Europe, to a privation of many comforts, for the sake of other advantages, formed ridiculous expectations of enjoying in the New World something superadded to the best of what they had ever tasted in the Old. If a man desires to contemplate the spectacle of an infant community rising to enormous wealth and power, with a celerity distinctly visible, or is curious to see large forests, lakes and rivers, he must not repine at a temporary exclusion from the refined society of London and Paris. If an emigrant seeks the region of cheap land, he must lay his account with finding labour and manufactures costly. What were Mr Janson's motives for visiting

America

America we need not inquire. He belongs to one or to both of these classes; and he has committed exactly the error which we formerly pointed out in noticing Mr Parkinson's travels, of expecting impossibilities, and grumbling because contradictions were not reconciled for his convenience or advantage.

In this frame of mind, however, Mr Janson arrived at Boston. He was presently shocked with the vulgarity of the people, and teazed by their familiar way of treating him, and by their perpetual interrogatories. He next suffered from the excessive civilities of his hosts and hostesses; from the heat of the climate; and 'that aggravating and poisonous insect,' the musquito. He walked about, nevertheless, and visited Bunker's Hill, which introduces some anecdotes of the battle, and an apostrophe to those who fell in it; which we shall not quote. From some uninteresting notes, chiefly on the distilleries, theatres, and breweries of Boston, a transition is made to the general subject of America, the statistics of which are rapidly disposed of in four pages, and followed by unconnected notices of its history in a few pages more. After this he observes, 'the reader will doubtless think it high time to return to my narrative.' The heat drives him from Boston to New-London, which he marvels at finding much smaller than the old city of that name. Mention is here made of two different lobsters; one, upon which ten hungry men supped, and left enough for an eleventh; another, on which seven persons dined, yet left sufficient to satisfy a hungry man. Approaching now to the brink of a precipice, he recollects Shakespeare's description of Dover Cliffs, and presents us with the following improvement upon that celebrated passage. 'Ours, however, was a land prospect. The cattle grazing in the plain appeared no larger than sheep. Horses at plough at a further distance, were diminished to the size of a child's toy; the driver to an atom scarcely visible.'

At this part of the narrative is introduced a curious account of the adventures which befel three of Charles the First's judges. Generals Goffe and Whalley, and Colonel Dixwell. They took refuge in Connecticut, and wandered from place to place over other parts of New England, remaining in concealment for many years; the two former frequently in caves and woods; the latter, by changing his name, and getting into the crowd of society. Their story forms one of the oldest and most interesting of the New-England traditions; and our thanks are due to Mr Janson for inserting several particulars, from what he heard, and from some American publications upon the subject. These, and other American books which he quotes, have never, we presume, reached Europe; and there is not, in the bulky volume before us, any thing

thing more curious than the specimens which it contains of transatlantic literature. We shall afterwards extract a few of those passages for the sake of illustrating this point. It may be better, here, to insert one of the passages concerning the judges, in the words of Goffe. The following is a letter from that person, describing his old companion's second childhood. There is something touching in the tenderness which mingles itself with the fanaticism of this piece.

"Your old friend, Mr R. (Whalley) is yet living, but continues in that weak condition of which I have formerly given you an account; and I have not much to add. He is scarce capable of any rational discourse; his understanding, memory and speech, doth so much fail him, that he seems not to take much notice of any thing that is either done or said, but patiently bears all things, and never complains of any thing, though I fear it is some trouble to him that he hath had no letter for a long time from his cousin Rich; but he speaks not one word concerning it, nor any thing you wrote in your last; only, after I had read your letters to him, being asked whether it was not a great refreshment to him to hear such a gracious spirit breathing in your letters, he said it was none of his least comforts; and indeed, he scarce speaks of any thing but in answer to the questions that are put to him, which are not of many kinds, because he is not capable to answer them. The common and very frequent question is, to know how he doth; and his answer, for the most part is, Very well, I praise God; which he utters in a very low and weak voice. But sometimes he saith, not very well, or very ill; and then if it be further said, do you feel pain any where? to that he always answereth, No. When he wants any thing, he cannot speak well for it, because he forgets the name of it, and sometimes asks for one thing, when he means another, so that his eye or his finger is his tongue; but his ordinary wants are so well known to us, that most of them are supplied without asking or making signs for them. Some help he stands in need of in every thing to which any motion is required, having not been able for a long time to dress or undress himself, nor to feed, nor ease nature either way, orderly, without help, and it's a very great mercy to him that he hath a friend that takes pleasure in being helpful to him. I bless the Lord that gives me such a good measure of health and strength, and an opportunity and a heart to use it in so good and necessary a work; for though my help be poor and weak, yet that antient servant of Christ could not well subsist without it; and I do believe, as you are pleased to say very well, that I do enjoy the more health for his sake. I have sometimes wondered much at this dispensation of the Lord towards him, and have some expectations of more than ordinary issue. The Lord help us to profit by all, and to wait with patience upon him, till we see what end he will make with us.

"Thus far I write for myself. I will now ask him what he would have me to say to his friends concerning him. The question being asked, he

he saith, I am better than I was. And being asked what I should say more to his cousin R. or any other friends; after a long pause, he again said, the Lord hath visited me in much mercy, and hath answered his visitation upon me. (I give you his own words.) Being desirous to draw more from him, I proposed several questions; and the sum of his answers was, that he earnestly desires the continuance of the fervent prayers of all friends for him." p. 49, 50.

The following anecdote is in Mr Janson's own words.

'During their abode at Hadley, the most famous and memorable Indian war of New England took place. This was called King Philip's war. Philip was a powerful sachem, and resided at Mount Hope, in Rhode Island; where he was soon after this war put to death by Colonel Church. All the new frontier towns of New England were attacked, and Hadley was then exposed as a place of that description. The time the savages fixed upon to make the assault, was while the inhabitants were assembled in the meeting-house to observe a fast-day; but, fortunately, it had been some time a custom for the men to attend public worship armed. Had the town been taken, the discovery of Whalley and Goffe would have been inevitable. The men took up their arms and attempted a defence; but were soon thrown into confusion, when (as it is related to this day) a stranger suddenly appeared among them, of venerable aspect, and different in his apparel from the inhabitants, who rallied, and, disposing them in the best military manner, led them to the charge, routed the Indians, and saved the town. In the moment of victory their deliverer vanished. The inhabitants, unable to account for the phenomenon, believed that they had been commanded by an angel, sent from heaven for their protection.

'This supposed angel was Goffe, who never before ventured from his concealment. Whalley was then in a state of second childhood. Such was their caution to prevent a discovery of their retreat, that the inhabitants never knew them, or who it was that so ably led them against the savages, until they both had paid the debt of nature.' p. 51.

The next chapter consists of miscellaneous observations on the climate of North America. It is made up of extracts from books, bits of meteorological registers, loose imperfect tables, and proofs that clearing a country affects its atmosphere. A sudden step is then made to the 'multiplication of wild pigeons,' which is prodigious in New England: 'their abundance,' which is great in Carolina, and the 'fecundity of fish,' which is also astonishing:—and so ends the eighth chapter, making way for the ninth, which opens with a remark, that 'Nature is exhibited upon a large scale in America; and is devoted to many well-known statements respecting the size of the lakes and mountains.

Our author now gives us a relation of his excursion in Connecticut, which presents nothing at all remarkable, unless it be the badness of the accommodation for travellers, the familiarity of servants, and the general rudeness of the inferior classes. All this is of

of course ascribed by Mr Janson to 'republican liberty and equality.' We need scarcely remark, that such manners arise naturally out of the circumstances peculiar to those provinces, extensive tracts of land, a thin population, and the want of great towns. The only feature in the New Englander's character which cannot altogether be deduced from those circumstances, is their impertinent curiosity, of which so many pleasing instances have been recorded. But this, like the other peculiarities, has as little connexion with republicanism as with monarchy.

'An English farmer, in the north especially, when asked the price of his grain, will answer with modest diffidence; nay, will often be abashed at the attempt to undervalue the article. In America, the meanest planter must go through his routine of interrogatories, and perhaps mount his political hobbyhorse, before you receive an answer to your question. Should you happen to observe that you can purchase for less than he demands, he will give you the lie, accompanied with a grin and an oath, and tell you to go where you can obtain it cheaper.

'With the other sex, whose curiosity is generally admitted in other countries to be by no means inferior to that of the men, you may naturally expect to fare no better. This I likewise found by manifold experience. One instance, which occurred during the excursion described in this chapter, shall here suffice. Seeing a pleasant little cottage on the river Connecticut, and understanding that it was to be let, I knocked at the door, which was opened by a woman, of whom I enquired the rent of the house—'And where are you from?'—was the reply.—'Pray madam,' I again asked, 'is this house to be let?'—'Be you from New York or Boston?' said the inquisitive dame. The place was situated about half-way between those two towns. Impatient at this mode of reply—'I'll thank you, Madam,' I repeated, 'to acquaint me with the price demanded for this little 'place?'—'Pray what may you be?' rejoined she, as if fully determined not to satisfy my inquiry till I had gratified her curiosity. I was not less resolute than herself, and turned my back in disgust.

'Among the females, a stranger may soon discover the pertness of republican principles. Divested, from that cause, of the blushing modesty of the country girls of Europe, they will answer a familiar question from the other sex with the confidence of a French mademoiselle. I would not however, be understood to question their chastity, of which they have as large a portion as Europeans; my object is merely to show the force of habit, and the result of education.

'The arrogance of domestics in this land of republican liberty and equality, is particularly calculated to excite the astonishment of strangers. To call persons of this description *servants*, or to speak of their *master*, or *mistress*, is a grievous affront. Having called one day at the house of a gentleman of my acquaintance, on knocking at the door it was opened by a servant-maid, whom I had never before seen, as she had not been long in his family. The following is the dialogue, word for word, which

which took place on this occasion.—'Is your master at home?'—'I have no master.'—'Don't you live here?'—'I *stay* here.'—'And who are you then?'—'Why, I am Mr ——'s *help*. I'd have you to know, *man*, that I am no *servant*; none but *negers* are *servants*.'

'I have frequently heard of an *amusement* in New England, and particularly in the state of Connecticut, called *bundling*. It is described as being resorted to by lovers. The young couple retire to bed, with their clothes on, and there the lover tells his soft tale. One author says, that "*bundling* has not its origin in New England, as supposed. It has been practised time immemorial in Wales, and is also a general practice in the isle of Portland. I was informed that servant-girls in Connecticut demand liberty to do so on hiring—they receive their gallants in the night in bed, with their petticoats tied to their ancles. In Holland, too, this is practised amongst the peasants, who call it *queesting*."

The XI. Chapter contains some curious, but perfectly well-known particulars of the degree in which toleration exists in the United States, and some anecdotes relating to certain sects which are less known, but not worth attending to. We extract the following instance of toleration with peculiar pleasure.

'In all the other states, Maryland excepted, the principal merchants and men of property are chiefly of the church of England.—The Roman Catholics are the most moderate and orderly of the other sects. They have handsome churches in New York and Philadelphia. At Baltimore, a metropolitan cathedral is building, on an extensive scale, under the patronage and protection of Bishop Clegget, a man of good sense and erudition, who governs the Catholic church throughout the United States with much propriety. To provide funds, he prevailed upon the government to grant a lottery, in which the Bishop drew the highest prize, and magnanimously appropriated it to the use of the church, affording a brilliant example to the other dignified clergy to "go and do likewise." p. 102.

This chapter on Religious Sects is followed by a great deal of bad biography; but there is something pleasant in the frankness of the confession which our author makes of his motive for introducing it. 'The avidity,' he says, 'with which the particulars of the lives of conspicuous characters are in general perused by the public, has induced me to devote a portion of my work to the subject of American biography.' This *portion*, however, contains nothing either new or interesting; and we *almost* imagine it may prove too much for the avidity above alluded to, insatiable as that is.

During his stay at New York, Mr Janson collected a number of notes on that city; but, on comparing them with those which he afterwards collected at Philadelphia, he was induced to suppress much of them; because 'the preference of the latter city in beauty, regularity, architecture and improvement, is so decided;' also,

'because

'because the former is more visited by the English.' Accordingly he gives us a description, and, what is much better, a neat plan of Philadelphia. It is better, were there no other difference, from the necessary omission of Mr Janson's wit, which his description is tinctured with. We must really let our readers taste a little of this; for it is not fair that they should have none of the bitters, with as many of the sweets as we can gather in the wilderness of weeds now lying spread before us. Mr Janson is angry at the Philadelphians for departing in a slight degree from the founder's original plan. He says, not only so, but 'they have even deviated from the original names of the streets. They now call Mulberry, *Arch* Street. There being no *bridge* near, I see nothing *waggish* in the alteration, if intended for a stroke of wit.'

We must give our readers a little more of Mr Janson, and that for the purpose of showing, more strikingly than any general description can do, what sort of a writer he is; what sort of remarks he makes on men and manners, and how far he is entitled to descant at length, on every occasion, upon the vulgarity of the North Americans. Mr Parkinson and Mr Janson are the authors who indulge the most in this abuse. We meet with very little of it in the Marquis de Chastilleux and the Duc de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt. We need not say who those French travellers were. Mr Parkinson we formerly introduced to our readers. Now for Mr Janson.

'In November, in each year, there are horse-races in the capital of America. I happened to arrive just at this time on horseback at George Town, which is about two miles from the race ground. After an early dinner, served up sooner on the occasion, a great bustle was created by the preparations for the sport. It had been my intention to pass the remainder of the day at the far-famed city; but, stimulated by curiosity, I determined to mingle with the sporting group. Having paid for my dinner, and the refreshment for my horse, I proceeded to the stable. I had delivered my beast to a yellow fellow, M'Laughlin, the landlord's head ostler. This name reminds me of an anecdote of Macklin, the English theatrical Nestor. It is said that his proper name was M'Laughlin, but, dissatisfied with the harsh pronunciation, he sunk the uncouth letters, and called himself Macklin. Be that as it may, I went for my horse, to attend the race, and repeatedly urged my dingy ostler to bring him out. I waited long with great patience at the stable-door, and saw him lead out a number without discovering mine. I again remonstrated, and soon heard a message delivered to him to saddle the horses of Mr A. Mr B. Mr C. and so on. He now appeared with the horses according to the recent order, leading them by their bridles. Previous to this, I had saddled my own horse, seeing the hurry of the time; yet I thought it a compliment due to me that the servant should lead him to me. I now spoke in a more angry tone, conceiving myself insulted by neglect. The Indian sourly replied, 'I must wait upon the gentlemen,' (that

(that is, the sporting sharpers). 'Then,' quoth I, 'a gentleman neglected in his proper turn, I find, must wait upon you?' I was provoked to knock the varlet to the ground. The horses which he led, startled at the sudden impulse, ran off; and before the hostler recovered from the effects of the blow, or the horses were caught, I led out my nag, and leisurely proceeded to the turf.

'Here I witnessed a scene perfectly novel. I have been at the races of Newmarket, Epsom, York; in short I have seen, for aught I know to the contrary, one hundred thousand pounds won and lost in a single day, in England. On coming up to an enclosed ground, a quarter of a dollar was demanded for my admission. Rather than turn back, though no sportsman, I submitted. Four-wheeled carriages paid a dollar, and half that sum was exacted for the most miserable single-horse chaise. Though the day was raw, cold, and threatening to rain or snow, there were abundance of ladies, decorated as if for a ball. In this year (1803) Congress was summoned very early by President Jefferson, upon the contemplated purchase of Louisiana, and to pass a bill in order to facilitate his election again, as president. Many scores of American legislators, who are all allowed six dollars a day, besides their travelling expenses, went on *foot* from the capital, above four English miles, to attend the sport. Nay, it is an indisputable fact, that the houses of Congress adjourned at a very early hour to indulge the members for this purpose. It rained during the course: and thus the law-makers of the country were driven into the booths, and thereby compelled to eat and pay for what was there called a dinner; while their contemplated meal remained untouched at their respective boarding-houses. Economy is the order of the day, in the Jeffersonian administration of that country; and the members pretend to avail themselves of it, even in their personal expenses.' p. 208—210.

It is Mr Janson's constant failing, to dwell at the greatest length upon topics neither peculiar to America, nor illustrated with any remarkable degree of happiness by what is to be found there. He devotes a long chapter to the history of various theatrical companies, and the adventures of second-rate English performers, who repair to America in the way of their profession, besides many scattered notices of the same kind in other parts of his book. In like manner, almost all his drawings are of the least interesting kind; they are chiefly views of public buildings, as if those could be any thing but bad imitations of second-rate structures in the Old World. Such as the prints are, we certainly do not admire them the more for their confused *aquatinta* execution.

The 'nefarious practices' of the land-jobbers occupy much of his attention, and call down all his indignation. There can be no doubt that such impositions as he describes, are frequently practised upon the credulity of sanguine persons in England.

But

But we do not conceive, either that the extent of those frauds is so great, or their criminality so deep as he assumes. Where the staple article of commerce in a country is the uncleared land, extensive speculation in that article will naturally lead to unfair arts; and the eagerness of some persons to buy, will encourage the sellers to take undue advantage of it, and to spread it among others. The chance of such impositions must be greatly augmented, if the purchasers live at a distance from the commodity; and really, if men are so blindly fond of speculating in land, as to buy it without inspection, and, consequently, more or less upon the word of the seller, they have themselves to blame should they now and then be deceived by him.

The art of 'cooking up' land for the market, is described by Mr Janson as being generally practised; and his statements, we think, prove rather too much: for he tells us, that a traveller seeing some persons planting a few trees on a rocky soil, and inquiring the purpose of so strange an operation, was immediately informed, that it was in order to 'cook up the land a little' for the English market. Was the English purchaser to pay half a guinea an acre (the price demanded in this instance) without seeing the land himself, or sending an agent, or employing at least an American friend to look at it? Then he had no reason to complain; and indeed the trees were so much into the bargain; for he would have paid the same price though they had not been planted. But, in all probability, he was to send some one who might inspect the ground,—otherwise, indeed, the cookery could serve no purpose; and then, how comes it to pass that the American land-cook is cunning enough to carry on his trick, and foolish enough all the time to tell the wayfaring people what he is about? Our author's story of the fraud practised by the new administration of the state of Georgia upon the purchasers of its lands, comes to us under circumstances that require us to pause and suspect. He is one of the sufferers by the transaction; and the best of men will often, without knowing it, give the most erroneous statement of his own case. Upon the whole, we have not met with any proof materially detrimental to the general character of the Americans, from the practices of land-jobbers. The tricks of certain traders, even in England, where the extent of commercial dealings has naturally checked such incorrect proceedings, might just as fairly be quoted against our mercantile character. From what has hitherto been substantiated respecting the land-jobbers, and the share taken by some of the governments in their speculations, we are disposed to guess, that the lottery department of our revenue brings fully as much blame upon our rulers, and is

attended

attended with as many little tricks on the part, even of the fair traders, in beneficial chances.

A very disgusting account is given in chapter XXII. of the savage amusements, known in the southern states, particularly Georgia and the Carolinas. Some persons having denied that these are any longer known, our author relates several instances, some of which he witnessed himself. We give the following specimen of his anecdotes upon this topic, premising, that though we were to admit their accuracy, they by no means disprove the opinion generally entertained, that the practices in question are gradually wearing out.

'Passing, in company with other travellers, through the state of Georgia, our attention was arrested by a gouging-match. We found the combatants, as Morse describes, fast clenched by the hair, and their thumbs endeavouring to force a passage into each other's eyes; while several of the bystanders were betting upon the first eye to be turned out of its socket. For some time the combatants avoided the *thumb stroke* with dexterity. At length they fell to the ground; and, in an instant, the uppermost sprung up with his antagonist's eye in his hand!!! The savage crowd applauded, while, sick with horror, we galloped away from the infernal scene. The name of the sufferer was John Butler, a Carolinean, who, it seems, had been dared to the combat by a Georgian; and the first eye was for the honour of the state to which they respectively belonged.

'The eye is not the only feature which suffers on these occasions. Like dogs and bears, they use their teeth and feet, with the most savage ferocity, upon each other.

'A brute in human form, named John Stanley, of Bertie county, North Carolina, sharpens his teeth with a file, and boasts of his dependence upon them in fight. This monster will also exult in relating the account of the noses and ears he has bitten off, and the cheeks he has torn.

'A man of the name of Thomas Penrise, then living in Edenton, in the same state, attempting at cards to cheat some half-drunken sailors, was detected. A scuffle ensued; Penrise knocked out the candle, then gouged out three eyes, bit off an ear, tore a few cheeks, and made good his retreat.' p. 301, 302.

Among the various subjects introduced, rather than treated of, by Mr Janson, in order to catch the eye of idle readers, may be mentioned that of '*Advertisements.*' He has filled a chapter with specimens of this kind of composition, collected from the American newspapers. In none of these is there any thing striking; and they furnish not the slightest colour for an opinion prejudicial to the taste of the country. The London newspapers of a single week, and the provincial papers of England any one day, would supply a much longer chapter of 'eccentric advertise-

ments' (as our author calls them), and furnish better reasons for doubting the good sense or correct taste of this country, to such as should be thoughtless enough to argue upon a general question by examining the single class of exceptions. It is scarcely necessary to add, that we urge this only against the inference from the American advertisements, and by no means as a denial that taste, in the United States, must necessarily be at a low ebb.

If a consideration of the peculiar circumstances of those communities could leave any doubt respecting this point, it would be removed by attending to the few specimens of the finer arts which from time to time come across the Atlantic. The collection of excerpts and anecdotes now under review, furnishes some additions to our previous knowledge of this subject. The poetry of Dr Dwight, for example, is evidently the growth of a country where only the coarser sorts of industry yet flourish. We extract the following lines as a sample.

' Say, muse indignant! whose the hand
That hurled the conflagrative brand,
A foe to human feelings born,
And of each future age the scorn?
TYNON achieved the deed malign,
TYNON, the name of every sin.
Hell's basest fiends the flames surveyed,
And smiled to see destruction spread;
While Satan, blushing deep, looked on,
And infamy disown'd her son.' p. 163.

Mr Fessenden, we are told, (p. 200.) is the ' Hudibras of America;' and the following are a few of the neat and pointed lines quoted by our author from that great man's lays.

' Few good and great men can be nam'd
Your scoundrelship has not defam'd;
And scarce a rogue who ought to hang,
Who is not number'd with your gang.

Dost thou remember much about a
Droll 'scape of thine once at Calcutta;
When erst invited to a breakfast,
In noose you nigh had got your neck fast?' p. 201.

One of the speeches of Mr Randolph is well known in this country. With great force of argument, it abounds in examples of the worst taste. Mr Janson quotes another oration, beginning with these words, upon a bill having been rejected, to which Mr Randolph was hostile, ' *I shall live ten years longer.*' The only notice of American painters, contained in this book, is that of Mr Peale and his family. They are all artists, and all named after

after eminent painters. We have Mr Rembrandt Peale, and Mr Titian Peale. Mr Titian is 'a celebrated portrait painter;' and he showed our author portraits of several public characters, 'which he immediately recognized.' This art, therefore, whatever some people may think, *has* made a certain progress in America. With the writers of the New World we are rather better acquainted; but the works of Dr Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College, are not sufficiently known and prized in this country. His book on the 'History of the Three Judges,' formerly alluded to, seems in every way deserving of notice. It was published in 1795; and the following specimen of its style is given by Mr Janson.

'What I have before *narrated*, is delivered upon sure documents. I shall now *narrate* what is only conjectural, and leave it to every one's judgment; only observing, that if it ever did take place, no one will doubt but that Dixwell was concerned in it. There is somehow preserved, not in universal or general, but in particular and strong lineal tradition, at Newhaven, which is to be considered more largely hereafter, that another of the regicides, besides Dixwell, lies buried in our burying-place, and that this other was Whalley. This is particularly preserved among the sextons or grave-diggers, who, it seems, for many years, and perhaps ever from the time especially of Dixwell's death, have shown the stone marked E. W. for Whalley, as they have that marked J. D. for Dixwell. I have not found the least tradition of Goffe, till I myself conjectured it, January, 1793, inferring in my own mind, without a doubt, that if Whalley, who certainly died at Hadley, was afterwards removed here, Goffe must be here also. But of this, I mean as to Goffe's being here also, I can find no tradition; yet I find it tenaciously adhered to, especially in the line of the grave-diggers, that Whalley is here. I have often examined the E. W. stone; but consider the matter without proof; yet possible, but by no means certain. Nor do I wish, and least of all attempt, to gain any one's credulity to it, leaving every mind perfectly free and unprejudiced. But as I know that whoever takes the pains that I have done, to trace out, and collect, and digest the traditions in Newhaven, will find this among others, however it originated among us; so, after this precaution and notification, I shall proceed.' p. 54, 55.

Unlimited abuse of private characters is another characteristic of the American press; and into this practice, we are sorry to find that Mr Janson has been initiated by his residence in the United States. He drags individuals into notice without scruple or ceremony. Sometimes he tells what he has picked up concerning persons whose names never found their way into print; sometimes he offers, as his excuse, that the American journalists have already told the story, which is, in truth, no justification whatever. As for his endless invectives against Mr Jefferson and

his party, they belong to another class of wrongs, and only obtain their share of the dignified contempt by which that eminently wise ruler has consigned to oblivion all the spoken and written scurrility of his enemies.

ART. VIII. *A History of Ireland, from the earliest Account to the Accomplishment of the Union with Great Britain in* 1801. By the Rev. James Gordon, Rector of Killegney, &c. 2 vol. London. 1806.

THE author of this book is already known to the public by a geographical work called *Terraquea*, and an account of the late Irish rebellion. He states it to be the object of the present book, to give a 'clear and succinct account of Irish history, divested of all fabulous and nugatory details, and comprehending whatever is really important and interesting, from the first authentic accounts till the late Union.' A history of Ireland upon this plan, if executed by a writer of adequate talents, would certainly prove an useful work. How far Mr Gordon has succeeded in the undertaking, our readers will be able to judge, from the following account of his book.

The author justly observes, that, previous to the invasion of Henry II., there is little authentic in the annals of Ireland, and nothing to give credibility to that splendid antiquity, rising to the first ages of the postdiluvian world, in which the good Irish, instructed by their O'Flahertys and O'Hallerons, so fondly believe. But it must be observed, that while our author professes to reject from his page whatever is fabulous or uncertain, he at the same time, ventures to entertain his readers with a very misty discussion about the migrations of the Celtæ and Goths, which contributes about as much to the truth of his history as his intrusive philippic against bull-baiting, and recommendatory advertisement of his own *Terraquea*, do to its propriety. In this part of his work, he takes occasion to speak of the Gael, and of the bard of Morven; and he rejects the poems which bear his name, in a manner the most peremptory and consequential. We can, however, give the admirers of the Caledonian bard the comfort of assuring them, that if his fame shall survive the more redoubtable attack of the learned editor of Macpherson, it does not seem to be in great danger from the *telum imbelle* of the good rector of Killegney. The religion of the antient Irish is matter of as great uncertainty as their origin; but our author conjectures it may have been Druidism; and accordingly seizes the opportunity

nity of enlarging upon the tenets and discipline of that antient superstition He treats also of the manners and literature of the antient Irish. In speaking of the former, he makes a transition to modern times, and communicates upon his own authority, a piece of information with which we think our readers cannot fail to be highly gratified. 'I have seen,' says our chaste historian, 'when a boy, a family dining on curds and butter, a piece of the butter being laid upon each spoonful of the former, which was *recommended as an antient and most wholesome food by a priest who was one of the company.*' The author speaks soberly upon the subject of literature, not giving much credit to the reality of those losses which some credulous writers believe the world of letters to have sustained from the ravages of Turgesius, the Omar of the Danes, upon the libraries of the Irish. The middle ages, however, according to our author, produced many suns of science, who went forth from this land of *saints and scholars* to enlighten the darker regions of Europe. We are particularly called to notice *Virgilius Solivagus*, a worthy, who, it seems, was persecuted by one Pope, and recompensed with canonization by another; upon which the author thus expresses himself, printing in italics, in order the more securely to mark the dignity, as well of the sentiment as the occasion.

'Thus are, in all ages, men of superior knowledge, benevolence, and candour, envied by the ungenerous, traduced by sycophants, persecuted by men contemptible in understanding but formidable in power; and, after their deaths, revered, and followed in opinion by the judicious and well-informed.' I. 50.

Before we leave the subject of literature, we must communicate, from our author, a piece of very pertinent information, which, we greatly suspect, will be as new and interesting to most of our readers, as it certainly was to ourselves, that the old Irish chronicle of the Monks of Innisfallen 'has lately been translated into English by Mr Theophilus O'Flanegan, a literary gentleman, eminent in the knowledge of the Irish tongue, who keeps an academy at Blackrock, near Dublin.' I. 52.

By this time our readers will have discovered, that the Reverend Mr Gordon is not eminently endowed with talents for history, and that his digressive propensities are not very favourable to the composition of a history of Ireland upon the plan which he himself proposes. The account of the English invasion under Henry II. is prefaced, not with a view of the state of England at that time, but with a summary of the whole of its history, beginning with the etymon of the name. We expected that Pope Adrian's bull would, in like manner, have introduced an account of the origin and progress of the Papal power; but the author lets us off, upon this occasion,

casion, with some moral remarks, equally just and familiar, upon the hypocritical pretexts which ambition makes use of to cloak its wicked designs. We have then, a picture of the state of Ireland, which we cannot do better than quote, as a felicitous specimen of that terseness, rythmus, and epigrammatic force, which characterize Mr Gordon's style.

'In the perpetual fluctuation of power in Ireland, the nominal sovereignty had fallen from the house of O'Brien in Munster; and Turlogh O'Connor of Connaught, who had commenced his regal claims, about the year 1130, was generally acknowledged prince paramount by the Irish chiefs. In this period the dominion of the O'Briens, who ruled in Thomond or North-Munster, was contracted by the warlike steps of Mac-Arthy, who exercised an independent sway in Desmond or South-Munster: the princes of Ossory, Decis, and other territories of Leinster, paid homage to Dermod Mac-Murchard as their provincial king: Meath was in subjection to the family of Clan-Colman: in Ulster O'Loghlan held the chief command: but his authority was disputed by Dunleve, prince of Doun or Uladh, who affected independence; and in the district of Bressnay reigned Tiernan O'Rurac, a warlike chieftain.' I. 66.

These dread sovereigns were, at the era of the English invasion, busily signalizing their respective administrations, by hereditary acts of robbery, rape and murder. Such were the occupations of degenerate princes, whose ancestors had doubtless, through long periods of refinement, often convened at the *Fes* of Tarah, and joined in classic games upon the plains of Tuiltean. As the author gives a more simple and perspicuous account than is customary with him, of the situation in which Ireland was left by Henry, when hastily called away, to appease, by royal penance, the manes of Becket, and the wrath of Rome, we shall extract it for the perusal of our readers.

'By the institutions of Henry, left fatally imperfect by unseasonable interruption, the inhabitants of this island became severally subject to two very different forms of government; the British colonists to the Anglo-Norman, the antient natives to the Irish, under a new sovereignty. The condition of the Irish princes, who had submitted, was no otherwise altered than that they professed allegiance to the king of England instead of the king of Connaught. Their Brehon laws, their antient customs, their modes of succession, and their mutual wars, waged as if by independent potentates, remained as much in force after, as they had been before the English invasion. The British colonists, on the other hand, were in the same political situation with their fellow-subjects in England, and governed by English laws. The king, reserving as his immediate property the maritime towns and some districts, parcelled the rest of the surrendered lands among the leaders of his troops, which they were to possess by military tenure or feudal right, that is, bound to the

the payment of homage to his majesty with a small tribute, and to the maintenance of certain numbers of knights and inferior soldiers for his service; they were otherwise each, in his own territory, absolute and hereditary lords or princes. The territories acquired by himself and his British subjects in Ireland were formed by Henry into shires or counties, with sheriffs and other officers, on the English model; with counties, afterwards enlarged, formed what was called the *English Pale*, or that division of the island within which the English law was acknowledged. But even within the pale were many septs of Irish, governed entirely by their antient laws, as were the inhabitants of all other parts of the country.' I. 108.

The state of Ireland, for centuries after this period, can only be described by words which express whatever is most lawless among men. History cannot light upon a more unpropitious period. We question if even the plastic powers of a Robertson could communicate any portion of interest to the barbarous and desultory transactions of those times. When we have said this, we need not talk of the execution of our good Irish rector. He would have acted more judiciously, both for himself and his reader, had he dwelt less upon events in themselves of little interest, and which he is so little qualified to embellish. The proceedings within the English pale do not afford any grateful relief to the gloomy picture of Irish barbarity. Struggling for existence amidst internal dissensions, and preserved only by the divisions of the native Irish, the Anglo-Irish government exhibits an odious mixture of debility and oppression, verifying the opinion of Burke,* that English dominion had acquired its spirit of hostility to the Irish, before the distinctions of Protestant and Papist were known in the world. It is painful to reflect, that the acts and deeds of a barbarous system, have too often found countenance in kindred proceedings of more enlightened times.

The glorious light of the reformation proved to Ireland only a fiery meteor, announcing a long tract of future calamities. This people had truly some little reason to demur, when their converted sovereigns came to demand acquiescence in the new doctrines of religion. England had, among her earliest acts, ordained a strict and lasting conformity with the Romish church; she held a grant of Ireland from the Papal power, to which her sovereigns and parliaments had often appealed; and she now sought to overturn by force what she had herself established; and rebelled, as it might seem to them, against that spiritual authority from which she had originally derived her own powers of sovereignty. The means which England employed to enlighten her Irish sub-

* Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe.

jects upon these points, and to reclaim them from the errors of Catholic superstition, were certainly neither evangelical nor wise. Insulting the ministers and relics of a cherished religion, and persecuting its believers by penal enactments, were not surely very persuasive expedients, either to make converts to protestantism, or willing subjects to government. 'Nihil est enim exitiosius civitatibus, nil tam contrarium juri et legibus, nihil minus civile et humanum, quam composita et constituta Republica, quidquam agi per vim.' *Cic. de. leg.*

The name of Sir John Perrot, one of the Irish governors of Queen Elizabeth, deserves particular notice and commendation in the history of Ireland. Superior to mean prejudices, he took the old natives of the country under his especial protection; addressed himself, in a manner never attempted before, to their generous feelings; and aspired, by mild, but vigorous measures, to bring the whole island, without distinction of persons, under one protecting constitution. But this man, who showed himself capable of rebuilding a broken state, was soon compelled, by the opposition of the English within the pale, and the want of support from his sovereign, to abandon his plans, and resign his authority into the hands of one (Fitzwilliam), as opposite in principle as he was inferior in capacity. We refer our readers to Leland, and other writers, for a full account of Perrot's system and proceedings; meanwhile, we shall extract the following brief notice of them from our author.

'The scheme of Sir John Perrot was that alone, which, if carried into execution, could render this island an acquisition of any value to the English crown, or, indeed, prevent it from being a wasteful drain of blood and treasure from the English nation. By a steady, strict and impartial execution, and gradual extension of English law, he wished to reduce all the inhabitants of the island into a state of uniform polity, reformation of manners, peace and prosperity. Having published amnesty and assurance of protection to all who should return to their allegiance, and sent the son of the deceased Earl of Desmond to England, to be rendered by education a fit object of royal favour, he proceeded to visit the several provinces, to prepare the way for the execution of his plan. Appointing sheriffs for the counties of Connaught, and marching to the north against some Scotish invaders, who fled to their ships at his approach, he was attended with alacrity by the Irish chiefs of Ulster, who testified their wishes for the acceptance of English law, and agreed to the payment of an assessment for the maintenance of eleven hundred soldiers without expense to the queen. For the carrying of his plan into effect, he petitioned the English government for the allowance of fifty thousand pounds a year during three years, representing it as it really would have been, *the cheapest purchase which England had made* for a great length of time. His request was declined by the economy

mony of Elizabeth, who was engaged in the assistance of the Dutch in their war against Spain; and even the absurd and pernicious jealousy of some, lest the people of this island, no longer weakened and impoverished by intestine wars, should become independent of the English crown. Only a small sum of money was granted by the queen, who had afterwards ample reason to repent, as the subsequent wars of Ireland, which would have been prevented, were the cause of a vast and grievous expenditure.' p. 275-6.

The Irish policy of Elizabeth certainly contributes nothing to her reputation for wisdom and vigour; and in the regards which she bestowed upon her subjects in that country, there never was any great portion of tenderness. Her successor, James, had a passion for improving Ireland; but there was a large mixture of evil in his plans. The nature and tendency of his system of plantations, and other Irish measures, are by no means well delineated by this author. In his account of the great events of the succeeding reign, indeed of all that took place till the final settlement of the island by King William, when the history of Leland closes, our author invariably adopts the sentiments of that writer; sometimes making large quotations, and often borrowing, without any formal acknowledgement. Nothing that the author can call his own in the way of remark, or comment, or reflection, once intervenes during this long and variegated portion of history, to mark the exercise of independent judgment. Nor is he by any means fortunate in the selection and disposition of the matter which he borrows; and some interesting pieces of information are either altogether omitted, or very inadequately given. Thus, for example, we have no distinct account of the extent and operation of the Catholic forfeitures, which effected such a signal, indeed unexampled revolution, in the landed property of Ireland. The Act of Settlement, we believe, transferred to English adventurers, 7,800,000 acres; and the forfeitures, at the Revolution, 1,060,793 acres. *

By the victories of William, and the total loss of their possessions, the Catholics were thoroughly brought under the yoke; but the war of arms was succeeded by the war of penal statutes, in order the more completely to secure the prostration of these rebellious apostates. Under Queen Anne, the system of rigour and abasement received new refinements; indeed, to use the language of Burke, 'the severe and jealous policy of a conqueror in the crude settlement of his new acquisition, was strangely made a permanent rule for its future government.' The author gives a very indistinct view of the provisions and principles of the penal code; and there is nothing of the spirit or philosophy of history in

* See Plowden's Ireland, &c.

in his feeble and scanty reflections. Our readers know, that, soon after the Revolution, the British Parliament began to assume the right of legislating for Ireland, and of forcibly interfering to restrain and regulate Irish industry. We quote the following passage to make our readers acquainted with the author's manner of thinking upon these subjects.

'Since, from the final submission of the Irish to William the Third in 1691, this island remained, above a century, free from other than external war, the historian of this period has happily little else to record than Parliamentary transactions; but, unhappily, these were sometimes of such a nature as, more permanently than war, to sink the nation in poverty and barbarism. In the peaceful period, since the surrendering of Limerick, this country has been of important service to her sister kingdom, but of vastly less than she would have been, if the English Parliament had acted towards her with a policy guided by common sense, or common justice. The glorious revolution of 1688, which established in England an unparalleled system of civil freedom, was far from extending the benignity of its influence in the same degree to Ireland, where it only secured the administration of internal government exclusively to the Protestant inhabitants, while these same Protestants, the conquerors, or the offspring of the conquerors of this country for the English Crown, were, in common with the Catholics, treated as a conquered people by the English Legislature, whose laws, with equal cruelty and impolicy, precluded them from availing themselves of the fruits of their own industry.' II. 184.

The restraints to which the author alludes, make, indeed, a long chapter in the history of Irish grievances. Previous to the Restoration, we believe, the commercial privileges of the two countries stood on the same footing; but, soon after that period, it seems to have been discovered that the sister states had in this respect very opposite interests, and that the wealth and resources of the one would be greatly enlarged by diminishing those of the other. The restraining system was, as we have already said, grievously extended after the Revolution, and continued in full force till the year 1779, when the spirit of the country boldly and successfully exerted itself in procuring a material relaxation.

By the articles of Union, many of the remaining restraints were at length removed, and the commerce of Ireland again replaced on a footing of equality and reciprocity.

In the account here given of the reigns of George the First and Second, there is great lack both of matter and judgment; insomuch that the author stoops from the dignity of history to record political toasts, satires, and witticisms. Here, too, Lord Chesterfield's administration is made to introduce the subject of his letters; and we have the authority of the rector of Killegney to say, that this collection of paternal hortatives to frivolity

volity and gallantry, attaches no blame whatever to his Lordship's character. We cannot say that the author is more judicious or instructive in his account of the present reign, than in the other parts of the work His narrative, never very luminous, is, as usual, clumsily broken by frivolous, unmeaning, or inapplicable digressions. The French revolution introduces a long dissertation; in the course of which, the author makes a discovery, which we must communicate to our readers, that Mr Burke's book on that subject was written purely in revenge for the destruction of the Catholic religion in France, to which he avers that statesman had a most heretical affection. Among other impertinences, he moreover introduces a discourse upon the merits and fate of his book on the rebellion; and this notable piece of egotism is quaintly entitled 'the history of a history!' From all this the reader must see, that our author never trifles with his subject; that he faithfully adheres to his plan of noticing only what is important and interesting; in a word, that his notions of history are purely classical.

We should, however, give an unfair review of the book, did we not admit that the account of the rebellion is interesting, and, upon the whole, characterized by a benevolent and manly spirit. It would not indeed be difficult to show, that he occasionally offers inadmissible apologies for that arbitrary system which was adopted upon the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam;* and throws the whole of that blame, which ought to be shared with the authors, upon the immediate agents of the system. But we gladly relinquish strictures which we could not pursue, without recurring to transactions but little accordant either with British magnanimity or British justice.

We must also remark, in favour of the author's liberality, that he is very decided for Catholic emancipation; and as his opinion has the sanction of local knowledge and experience, we quote his words.

'A more kind-hearted and obliging people than the Catholics of Ireland, I am persuaded, can no where be found; and I must confess that I feel for them a strong affection: Nor can I entertain a doubt of their inviolable attachment to the British government, if they were once fully admitted to an unqualified participation of its benefits.' Vol. II. p. 507.

We

* We believe, that the kind of proofs which the consul Pliny requires of a good governor of a province, were never more abundantly produced than upon that occasion. 'Volo ego qui provinciam rexerit, non tantum codicillos amicorum, nec urbana conjuratione eblanditas preces, sed decreta coloniarum, decreta civitatum alleget.' *Panegyr. Traj.*

XUM

We have nothing further to say of this book, but that it is as defective in composition as it is in all the higher attributes of history. The style is tame and loose, full of conceits, heavy expletives, and uncouth inversions. In short, we would exhort the reverend author to think no more of writing *history*, but to bestow his labour, where we hope he will reap more success, upon the cultivation of his vineyard in the church.

ART. IX. *Speech of Mr Deputy Birch in Common Council, March 5, 1807.* London, 1807.

Speech of the Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, in the House of Lords, on Friday, the 10th of May, 1805, on the Subject of the Catholic Petition. 2d Edition. London, 1805.

Cursory Reflections on the Measures now in Agitation, in favour of the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom. By a Loyal Irishman. London, 1807.

WHEN Sir John Throckmorton's publication on the subject of the Catholic claims came before us, * we were certainly impressed with an opinion, that, unless in an incidental manner, the subject would not again challenge our attention for some time to come. Since, however, circumstances, at that time unforeseen, have called a new host of pamphleteers into play, and given the enemies of what we deem sound and liberal policy another triumph, we will not be wanting to our duty, nor suffer the errors which we think have beguiled the multitude, to pass without refutation or reproof. What we shall offer will be little. Plain reasoning commonly lies in a narrow compass; and though we are no orators, as Deputy Birch is, we are still inclined to think, that some little effect may be produced by sober reasoning, even opposed to his eloquence, though it flow more sweet than the macaroon, and more ardent than turtle-soup.

It would be very foolish to contend, that all who oppose the pretensions of the Roman Catholics are narrow and fanatical bigots, actuated by an intolerant hatred of those who dissent from their own creed. They comprehend, unfortunately, too large a portion of the public, to be reviled, or turned into ridicule. We may very possibly, in the present state of British opinion, belong to a minority; no good reason, we presume, for concluding us to be in the wrong; but certainly a very proper inducement

* Vol. VIII. p. 311.

inducement to keep us within bounds, and prevent the retaliation of such indiscriminate charges as are for ever in the mouths of our adversaries. There are, in fact, so many sensible and judicious, as well as conscientious men, who hesitate about the propriety of such a bill, as was lately brought into Parliament, for the purpose of admitting the Catholic subjects of the King to military and naval command, that it is worth while to attempt winning them over, by somewhat a more legitimate sort of logic than the writers on their side are wont to adopt. And though we remember the words of Montesquieu, 'lorsqu'il s'agit de prouver des choses claires, on est sûr de ne pas convaincre;' we are not without hope, that some such men may retire from the discussion with less unfavourable impressions than before.

As we are desirous to address our observations to such men as these only, we assume it as an admitted point, that, *provided* such relaxation of our laws can be proved not to endanger the established church, it ought, on a double account, to be granted; both for the sake of the individuals, to whose industry and fair ambition it gives encouragement; and for the sake of the nation, whose effectual strength it tends greatly to augment. If any man denies this conditional position, we wish him to read no further; he is *insanabile caput*, and argument will be of no use to him. Of the advantage which the nation would derive from opening, as it were, a fresh mine of labour and talents, by admitting the Catholics into those stations from which we exclude them, we have said enough in our review of Sir J. Throckmorton;* and, certainly, the military and naval professions would afford the most striking illustrations of our general remarks. And to this, when we join the consideration, that such measures would conciliate many, and probably silence all of those whose disaffection we dread in Ireland, it is inconceivable, that any really temperate man can avoid wishing at least to be persuaded, that no evil would be felt, where so much good would certainly be effected. 'Primum ita esse velim,' says an antient, of the soul's immortality; 'deinde, etiamsi non sit, persuaderi mihi velim.' We do not recommend this anxiety to believe a proposition as very philosophical: yet, when we see how the judgment of men is ever cheated by their inclinations, we cannot help suspecting, that those who are so quick of alarm at the Catholic claims, have never appreciated the undeniable benefit of admitting them. It is unlike all we know of the human mind, that men should put the most strained suppositions, and the most improbable cases, to defeat their own wishes, and to withdraw their assent from measures, which they sincerely desire to approve. Let us begin by

* Vol. VIII. p. 312.

by feeling for the Catholics of Ireland, as for men and fellow-citizens, entitled, upon each account, to every benefit which we can securely bestow; and unless we are much deceived, the dangers with which we are threatened by Lord Hawkesbury and Mr Deputy Birch, will not make much impression on the most anxious and zealous well-wisher of our establishment.

To such zeal and such anxiety, we offer no violence. We readily admit, that the Protestant church is, at all events, to be maintained in every civil right with which it is invested by law. The question is thus reduced within due limits. We have only to inquire whether a certain great improvement can be made in our situation, without risking a certain definite mischief, which is agreed to be more than commensurate with it. We have nothing to do with the merits of the Protestant and Catholic persuasions, relatively to their intrinsic truth. We have as little to do with the advantages or disadvantages of a religious establishment. A Protestant establishment is taken for granted in the discussion; as it has been by every eminent person who has taken up the cause of the Catholics: though certain people have not scrupled to borrow from Lord George Gordon the senseless imputation of attempting *to bring in Popery*, and cast it on the most conspicuous characters of which our country can boast. Nor shall we condescend to answer those, who charge the Catholics with averseness to civil liberty, and with principles of arbitrary power. This calumny is never propagated, but among the populace; not that it is more palpably gross than many others which pass muster; but perhaps, because, in some very anticatholic circles, it might look like panegyric. What then are the arguments, by which the request of one fourth part of the people, to fight the battles of the rest, has hitherto been resisted? It is, of course, unnecessary for us to do more, than to answer the reasons adduced by the opposite side. They have the *onus probandi*, and let us see how stoutly they undergo it.

1. 'To admit Papists to hold certain commissions in the army, is a proposition more inimical to our glorious constitution, than ever was attempted by any minister to obtain the sanction of Parliament: for Popery, when introduced through a military channel, takes its most tremendous and relentless shape; and, when once introduced, will be irrevocable; it will be impossible to retrace the fatal and false steps with which it is in this case attempted to delude you.' Deputy Birch's Speech, p. 9.

Now, what is it that Deputy Birch is afraid of? Is it that the King (we use the word, of course, generally) may send half a dozen regiments, commanded by Catholics, to dissolve the Parliament? Or that these officers may conspire to do the same of their own accord, and

and turn both King and Parliament out of doors? It is necessary to come close to the point, if we would avoid being imposed upon by words without meaning: all generalities must be resolved into particulars, before their value can be estimated; and the Protestant alarmists are bound to state precisely what it is they would have us apprehend. One of these two alternatives they must take. And can they seriously conceive, that the constitution can be *violently* overturned (for any thing but violence is out of the question, when we speak of danger resulting from military command) by a few Catholic officers and privates, while the mass of the army, and of the people, are Protestant? Let us ask, is there no motive but religion, which can lead an officer to betray his trust, or a king to entertain ambitious views? Yet, which of these alarmists dreams of such a transaction occurring with a Protestant king and a Protestant army? Suppose the army to consist of a hundred regiments, and that ten colonels of these are Catholics, by what process are the smaller number to overbalance the greater? But the king may cashier all the Protestant colonels in a moment, and replace them by Catholic creatures of his own. This is really too ridiculous to be answered; and yet very sensible men have been talking and acting as if it was their real expectation. For, unless something of this kind be done, it is morally impossible that a Catholic army can set their yoke upon us.

2. 'It is well known that his Majesty enjoys the Crown in virtue of certain limitations. Shall the Royal Family be the only one in the kingdom liable to such restrictions? Can it be highly reasonable, for the sake of public good, to limit the capacity of succeeding to the Crown; and highly unreasonable, *though there be the like occasion for it,* to limit the capacity of private men to be captains and colonels?' Deputy Birch's Speech, p. 11.

Not at all unreasonable, if *there be the like occasion for it.* There is an odd fallacy here, which has misled more intelligent men than Deputy Birch. It is represented as an absurdity, to leave a restraint on the King, which we would take off from the subject. But, on the same principle, Protestants and Papists should be prohibited from intermarrying; or at least the husbands of Catholic women should be excluded from offices of trust, which has never been contended. There is, it should seem, a very plain reason for the distinction. We are not called upon to take off the restriction from the inheritance of the Crown, as we are from the Catholics of Ireland. No benefit is likely to accrue from repealing that part of the Act of Settlement, equivalent to the popular outcry which it would occasion; nor while the succession continues in its present course, is it likely that any King of England

land should desert the system in which he was educated. But we are free to admit, that circumstances may be conceived in which that conformity to the established church, which the Act of Settlement requires, might be found extremely perplexing. Let us suppose that William III., or the House of Hanover, had refused the crown upon those terms. Let us suppose that all foreign princes had, at that time, been as zealously attached to their own forms, as some of the church of England are to theirs. Would it have been worth while to have abolished the monarchy, or to have suffered a civil war among our domestic claimants, for the sake of retaining this provision? The case, we admit, is very improbable; but those who strive to urge us with the most unlikely cases, must not complain of them in return.

3. 'The Catholics refuse the oath of supremacy to our Most Gracious Sovereign; this, evidently, would be a palpable contradiction to the oath already taken by them of the supremacy of the Pope.' Dep. Birch, p. 10.

There is *no* oath of supremacy *to our Gracious Sovereign* in existence; if there were, our Scotish nation would refuse to take it. We acknowledge no earthly head of the Christian church. The real oath is merely negative; and only excludes all *foreign* authority and jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and spiritual. A French Catholic would refuse such an oath; and why should a King of England expect more undivided allegiance than Buonaparte?

4. 'The Catholics do not believe the obligation of oaths taken to heretic princes, or, which is the same thing, they believe that the Pope can dispense with such oaths.'

Why, then, do they not take every oath you impose? Either they are excluded at present by a system of oaths, or they are not. If they are not, the battle is about repealing a nugatory law; if they are, the imputation is plainly calumnious. But this charge may be repelled more directly, as we shall see, before the close of the article.

5. 'The Catholics did not tolerate us when they were in power; why should we be more indulgent to them? Have we forgotten Guy Faux, and bloody queen Mary?'

Those who persecuted Protestants are not the same individuals who would derive advantage from repealing the tests; and, if they were, what a mean-spirited vindictiveness would there be in retaliation! But, a word more about persecution. The church of Rome, we admit, in the middle ages, was as intolerant as worldly ambition and religious bigotry could render her; but this was not so much the natural consequence of her tenets, as the result of the state of the human mind in those times. She persecuted the Albigenses in the twelfth century, because it was the twelfth century; because toleration had not been proved in theory,

and

and tried in practice, to be the best means of preserving quiet, and securing truth. Protestants were burned in the reign of Mary, because she was furious and fanatical. Elizabeth was wise and temperate, and not disinclined to the Catholics by principle: her restrictions on them, accordingly, though sometimes very severe, were founded on political considerations; yet persecution was not at an end. Are our opponents aware, that two persons were burned for heresy in the reign of Elizabeth, and two others in that of James I.? However, it must be allowed, that the Roman church has always been more slow to admit principles of toleration than our own. All this, however, is beside the main point, which is, not what are the faults of popery, but what are the dangers of letting in a few Catholic officers, among a great majority of Protestants, into our army and navy.

6. 'If this concession be made, more will be asked in future; as you recede they will advance. The penal code was repealed; the civil restrictions mitigated; the elective franchise granted: All these have been steps to new demands. It is necessary to stop somewhere; and no point can be better than this.'

If you dispossess a man of his seat in the gallery of the House of Commons, will he be satisfied if you give him back three inches to sit down upon? Will he not naturally encroach, and edge on further and further, till he has got back as much as you took from him? But, having done this, is it so certain that he will proceed further, and become the aggressor in his turn, though by rather a fair retaliation? Whoever has witnessed such a transaction as this, must have observed that peace was sure to be restored by doing full justice to the injured party; but never till then. It is the same in public affairs. We instanced, formerly, the contests of antient Rome, which were only terminated by a fair partition of privileges between the Patrician and Plebeian orders. An orator, not less eloquent than Deputy Birch or Lord Hawkesbury, has sagaciously remarked with what difference, in point of earnestness, men contend for their rights, and for their ambition. *οὐχ ὁμοίως οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πλουτικτῶν πολιτεύεται ἀγῶν, καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν ἐλαττοῦνται, μιχρὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ πάντες πολεμοῦσι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ πλουτικτεῖν, οὐχ οὕτως· ἀλλ' ἐρῶντα μὲν, ἂν τις ἐῶ· ἂν δὲ κωλυθῶσιν, οὐδὲν ἠδικῆσθαι τοὺς ἀντιτιθέντας αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦνται.* Dem. π. τ. P. s. p. 193. edit. Reiske.

But, setting this aside, will they be more enabled to obtain further demands, by having gained these? Either these are reasonable in themselves, or they are not. If they are, it is ridiculous to pretend that they can afford a pretext for unreasonable concessions. If they are not, let that be proved, and there is an end of the discussion. Or, is it conceived that they will gain

more political strength, by being admitted into the army, and thus compel what they wish? This comes to what we have considered already,—the folly of imagining a Catholic Colonel Pride, issuing out of the mass-house, and purging the walls of St Stephens of those who have rendered it any thing rather than a house of prayer. A former House of Commons withstood, with courage and dignity, the menaces of a fanatical mob in 1780; the present, we are sure, would display equal firmness. We trust, however, that those who, to gratify their own ambition, swell the same war-whoop at this day, will instruct their agents to check the populace in time, and save our Senate from insult, and our capital from conflagration.

7. 'The King, at his coronation, swears to maintain the rights and privileges of the Protestant church: to admit Catholic officers into the army would violate that oath.'

If no other argument against the measure is found, this must fall to the ground of course; for, unless the rights and privileges of the Protestant church can be proved to be put in danger by the concessions in question, it is idle to talk of the coronation oath. But, even if we admitted that danger, we utterly deny the pertinence of the present objection. The coronation oath has no sort of relation to the King's acts, as part of the Legislature; it binds his conscience as an executive magistrate only. All the clauses of the oath bear no other construction; and no other, indeed, is consistent with the nature of such an obligation. While the sallies of the prerogative were justly feared, every check, whether of religion or law, was naturally imposed on the monarch. To bind his hands from consenting to the advice of his Parliament, was surely far from the intention of those who framed that solemn oath, and was indeed so considered, when a modification of it was proposed soon after the revolution; as may be seen in Grey's Debates, vol. 9. Even a distinct oath, not to grant favours to the Catholics, as it must be imposed by the people of England, might be released by their representatives. No moralist considers a promise as obligatory, which is released by the promisee; and an oath is but a more solemn promise.

The speech of Mr Deputy Birch is such as might be looked for from one of his calling; it surfeits the understanding, without substance or nourishment. Indeed, we owe some apology to our readers, for noticing such a performance at all; but, in truth, the arguments of greater men, in greater assemblies, are, at bottom, little better than his; and we thought it fit to take hold of an *author*, if we may apply the word so laughably, who had not the art to varnish over his absurdities with that loose verbiage, which our limits would not permit us to transcribe and detect.

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The speech of Lord Hawkesbury, on the Catholic Petition in 1805, is more decorous, though not much more profound, than that of Mr Birch. As we have no leisure for a detailed comment upon it, we shall only note, that he dwells on the incompatibility of a Protestant King, and Catholic advisers; on the foreign jurisdiction which those of the church of Rome necessarily acknowledge; and upon the little likelihood that the concessions then requested would satisfy the claimants. These topics we have touched upon already; and, when we add to these, the common praise of the revolution and William III. on one hand, and of the church of England on the other, we have mentioned every thing, we believe, that the speech of this eminent statesman contains. One assertion struck us as rather singular.

'In the beginning of the reign of Charles II., when the tide ran high in favour of monarchy, the only resistance which was made to that Prince for some years, was made by the church party; and to their opposition, at that time, we were indebted for the preservation of any part of our political liberties.' p. 36.

The Presbyterians of that age, his Lordship doubtless imagines to have been slaves of the Court, of which the distinguished favour that was shown them, especially in Scotland, would have afforded him a cogent proof. But we, who are of course not so well read in history as Lord Hawkesbury, had taken into our heads that no opposition at all was made to the arbitrary conduct of Charles II. by the church party, and especially in the beginning of his reign.

The cursory reflections by a Loyal Irishman, are the effusion of some furious bigot of the Orange faction, who founds his claim to public estimation on traducing such men as the Duke of Bedford and Sir John Newport. The Irish administration of the former, it is asserted, had formed a compact for a change of the religion of the state. 'England was to be *Protestant*, Scotland *Presbyterian*, and Ireland *Catholic*.' (p. 5.) Such is the ignorance of a man who affects afterwards to talk of bulls and councils, of canon law and casuistry. The disturbances occasioned by the Thrashers, though their depredations were notoriously as much levelled at the Catholic clergy, as at the Protestant, are ascribed by this writer to the effect of the system adopted by administration; nor has he any scruple to assert, that Government, in order to repress them, had recourse to the same measures of coercion as were adopted in 1798, and that 'the reign of terror recommenced.' (p. 10.) A gross and palpable misrepresentation; as it is perfectly well known, that no measures, beyond the legal course of proceedings, were resorted to by the administration of the Duke of Bedford. It was reserved, we believe, for this writer to main-

tain, that Catholics might have been admitted with more pretence into the Irish Parliament before the Union, than into that of the empire. 'She might have introduced popery into her legislature, and not have infected the British constitution *with that foul pestilence.*' There is, indeed, a scurrility and intemperance which runs through this whole pamphlet, hardly paralleled even by the writings of Dr Duigenan; and, were it not for the grossness of the ignorance occasionally displayed, we should suspect that classical pen to have been employed. But we have that to complain of, which is continually the case with these loose pamphleteers. There is no assertion made, which it is worth while to contest, because there is none which any other man would maintain; there is no argument for us to attack, because there is none advanced; there is no fact to examine, because, with hardly an exception, none are brought forward. The only part of this pamphlet which has a semblance and speciousness about it, is what relates to the supposed refusal of the English Catholics to renounce the dispensing power of the Pope.

'In an encyclical letter from the four vicars apostolic in England dated January the 1st, 1791, it is asserted and maintained, that the authority to determine on the lawfulness of oaths, declarations, and other instruments whatever, containing doctrinal matters, resides exclusively in the bishops, they being, by divine institution, the spiritual governors in the church of Christ, and the guardians of religion. In conformity with this fundamental and eternal dogma of the church, these vicars apostolic condemned, in the fullest manner, the attempt of offering to Parliament an oath, including doctrinal matters, to be there sanctioned, which had not been approved by the bishops. They exhort all good Catholics, in their respective districts, to oppose the attempt, and to prevent such an oath from being carried into effect.

'A protestation had been signed by all the bishops and clergy, and all the laity, of any consequence, of the Roman Catholic communion in England, disavowing the five following propositions.

'1st, That princes, excommunicated by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other.

'2d, That the Pope can absolve subjects from their allegiance.

'3d, That the Pope hath a civil jurisdiction within the realms of other princes.

'4th, That the Pope is infallible.

'5th, That a breach of faith with a person may be justified, under pretence that such a person is an heretic, or an infidel.

'This protestation was followed by a proposed oath, framed on the precise terms of the protestation, and renouncing, in an immediate appeal to God, what the subscribers had before renounced by their protestation; and this oath it was, as I have said, that provoked the anathema pronounced by the Catholic vicars, against all who should concur in the measure of proposing such an oath to Parliament, to be sanctioned there,

there, and to be imposed upon the Catholics, as it contained doctrinal matters of which the bishops alone were, by divine institution, to judge.

'Now, what will our profound parliamentary casuists say to this authentic document? Here we find what are the doctrinal matters proposed and maintained by the church of Rome to this day, and with which its bishops forbid all good Catholics to interfere. Will these casuists say, that the propositions contained in the protestation, and to be included in the oath, do not contain the identical opinions and tenets, on the profession of which the principle of exclusion, at the periods of the revolution, and of the accession of the House of Hanover, was grounded? Will they say that these are not the principles which originally created the political necessity of excluding all who professed them from all political power under a Protestant state? Yet they are the principles which the Catholic bishops declare to be doctrinal, and to contain religious opinions, on which none but the guardians of religion are to decide.

'But this is not all. This protestation was signed by six bishops, and 218 of the inferior clergy, and almost the whole laity of that persuasion in England, disclaiming the doctrines, against which it protested, as "dangerous to society, and totally repugnant to political and civil liberty." It was presented to both Houses of Parliament as "the pledge of the honour of English Catholics, and the public monument of their uprightness." Yet a year had not elapsed before this instrument, thus declared to have been consecrated on the altar of Catholic honour and uprightness was, on a communication with the court of Rome, and, in consequence of its injunctions, officially condemned, when proposed to be changed into the form of an oath, by four of the bishops who had signed it. With the very same pen that had set their names to the protestation, thus solemnly and deliberately laid before Parliament, they declared the oath, which was to follow as a thing of course, to be unlawful; and, as unlawful, they interdict it to all good Catholics.'

It is by such disingenuous statements as these, that the credulous and indolent are misled into prejudices against the Catholic body in Great Britain and Ireland. Would any man doubt, from reading the extract which we have laid before him, that the English clergy of that persuasion had actually refused to renounce the deposing power of the Pope, and the doctrine of keeping no faith with heretics? Yet it is certain that the act for the relief of Roman Catholics, which passed in 1791, 31. Geo. III. c. 32, contains an oath, conceived in as full terms as can well be framed, expressly renouncing those tenets, 'on the profession of which, according to this writer, the principle of exclusion, at the period of the revolution, and of the accession of the House of Hanover, was grounded.' *Habemus confitentem reum.* If they were excluded on no other principle, let the gates be thrown wide open to receive them; for the oath imposed in 1791, *has*

been taken by every priest and layman of any eminence throughout Great Britain. *The infallibility of the Pope* is not indeed disclaimed by the existing oath, whatever may have been the case with that to which objections were made; and certainly it seems inconsistent with the spirit of the act, to make any theological point a condition of toleration. What were the actual grounds of objection to the proposed oath, made by the English bishops in 1790, we do not know; probably they would have appeared to us, as they did to Lord Petre and Sir John Throckmorton, very unwarrantable. But be they what they might, they were recognized by the Legislature, and the oath was actually modified in conformity to their wishes. Upon this point, we shall take the liberty of quoting a passage from an unpublished tract of Sir John Coxe Hippisley, on the Catholic Petition.

'If any blame attaches to the apostolic vicars in England, from the objections raised by them, as he observes, in 1791, they must bear it in common with the Legislature, which sanctioned their scruples, by adopting the amendments proposed by them. A right reverend prelate (the Bishop of St Asaph) of the established church, must also submit to bear his share of the learned gentleman's censure, as that prelate has so recently said in his place, "That it was very true that the apostolic vicars forbade the taking the oath, not that they were unwilling that their people should swear to maintain the Protestant succession, but that the oath, as framed in the Lower House, contained some theological dogmata, which they deemed, and in my judgment" (observes his Lordship) "rightly deemed, as impious and heretical." The dogmata I allude to, is an abjuration of the legitimate authority of the priesthood; abjurations which I, as a Protestant Bishop, could not make; and I should impute great blame to any priest of mine who should condescend to make them. It was on account of these abjurations that the apostolic vicars reprobated the oath as it stood in the first bill; and when it was amended in that part, as it was in this House (House of Lords), they made no further objection. On the contrary, when the bill had passed, they exhorted their people, clergy as well as laity, to take the oath as it now stands; and they have, as I believe, themselves taken it.' p. 19.

The tract of Sir John Hippisley, from which we have made the above extract, hardly falls within our province as reviewers, as it has not hitherto been exposed to public sale; yet we cannot refrain from giving another passage, illustrating the nature of that papal supremacy, of which such terrific notions are entertained by the vulgar class of thinkers, and have too often been studiously inculcated by men, whose rank and reputed talents have given currency to the assertion.

'In forming a judgment on this material question of ecclesiastical supremacy, we find the case too frequently tried by rules which do not apply

apply to it,—by a fancied analogy which has no relation to it. The powers exercised by our clergy, though denominated ecclesiastical, involve principally civil and temporal rights. Of this description are tithes, glebes, &c. of material churches. Excommunication itself, in the established church, is inflicted as a mere civil punishment.

'The supremacy of Rome, the exercise of which may be regulated by the modes I have on other occasions suggested, and to which I shall again presently advert, as sanctioned by the institutions of other states, can militate against no civil or temporal rights, and cannot trench on the duties of civil allegiance; in fact it is confined to a subordination purely spiritual; a supremacy which is considered inherent in other churches as well as that of Rome. If the power be purely spiritual, it little imports the state, as far as its temporal interests are concerned, where that power is lodged,—whether with the Patriarch of Moscow, or the Pope of Rome, provided the state is satisfied with such pledges as Catholics are called upon to give, in the oaths of 1791 and 1793, in which they declare, "that they do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority or preeminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm." It is contended, therefore, that the independency of this purely spiritual supremacy, admitted in the person of a foreign prelate, or rather in the church of which he is considered as the chief organ, can, in no manner whatever, interfere with the duties of allegiance to a temporal sovereign. The Kirk of Scotland maintains a supremacy equally independent of the temporal jurisdiction of the Crown. The General Assembly considers itself paramount in its definitions of doctrine and decrees of discipline, and convokes and dissolves itself. The King's commission is not allowed to possess any authority or controul over the acts of the Assembly. This power claimed by the Church of Rome as distinct and independent of all temporal authority, we have seen admitted by the most jealous legislatures; and not inconsistently with this acknowledgment, we know that Catholic princes have waged war against the Pope himself, and reduced him to the state of a prisoner in his capital. * * * * * But in admitting the existence of this spiritual supremacy of the see of Rome, Catholics do not even admit that the Pope shall himself elect and nominate all bishops, as in some ages pontiffs have assumed a right to do, in the same manner as they exercised other powers which have not, even by human authorities, been considered as legitimately inherent in them.' p. 19.

The candid and well-informed author of this tract, which we consider as highly deserving of actual publication, is much disposed even to controvert the heinous imputations which have been thrown upon the Church of Rome, in the darker ages of modern history. Yet charges of ambition and intolerance have been so invariably brought against her by all Protestant writers, and even by many of her own communion, that we cannot avoid

a suspicion that he has sometimes strained this a little too far. The tyrannical domination of papal Rome, forms one of the leading features of civil history during several centuries, and certainly one of the most interesting and curious phenomena which the philosophical reflecter upon past times can contemplate. We certainly would not chuse, therefore, to rest the cause upon this ground; let us pare the claws of 'the panther,' without vouching for the milk-white purity of 'the hind' It is fair, however, to observe, that the canon of the fourth council of Lateran, which seems to sanction the deposition of princes, is suspected of spuriousness by many learned men, and, at all events, involves no matter of faith, to which the Catholics of the present day can hold themselves bound to subscribe. Thus the argument, which has been sometimes brought forward in the guise of a syllogism,—The Catholic church once maintained the deposing power; but according to the Catholics themselves, what their church once maintained, it maintains still; therefore it still maintains the deposing power,—is easily repelled. The major proposition is universally denied by the Catholics at this day; but if any Protestant think that there are historical proofs of that, he may securely deny the minor of the premises; since it is clear, that at present no such tenet is held by that church either in Great Britain or on the Continent. The oath of 1791 refutes the charge as to the former: the answer of six eminent universities in 1788, to certain queries proposed at desire of Mr Pitt, is satisfactory, as to the principal repositories of Catholic theology in Europe. These answers are printed in the Appendix to Sir John Coxe Hippisley's tract; and they may be found in Mr Plowden's history of Ireland.

We have only to add, that in discussing this most important question, either now, or at any other time, no considerations of *party* shall ever enter into our views. If this great national improvement is brought to pass, it matters little to us by what hand it shall be carried into execution. Although recent changes in government have revived the public feeling upon this theme, the abstract merits of the question have no reference to any political connexions. Among those who regret the late administration, there are many who would have refused their aid in breaking down the restrictive laws against the Catholics; among those who are most engaged in the present, there are many whose assent to the justice of the cause which we have espoused has never been withheld or concealed. But if it seem a solecism to write on political matters, without appertaining to some political sect,—if we are to chuse the divinities of our own idolatry,—we must declare ourselves to belong, upon this subject, to the party of Mr Burke, Mr Fox, and Mr Pitt.

ART.

ART. X. *Notice de la Vie et des Ecrits de George Louis Le Sage de Geneve, Membre de l'Academie et de l'Institut de Boulogne,* &c &c. Redigée après ses Notes, par Pierre Prevost. A Geneve, chez Paschoud. 1805.

THE biographical sketch here announced, has more than an ordinary claim to the attention of the reader. The subject of it is a philosopher, who, beside the peculiarities incident to genius, had several that belonged exclusively to himself. These he was careful to study and explain; and the notes which he has left behind him, seem to entitle him to the rare eulogy of having given an accurate and candid delineation of his own character. His biographer, too, had the advantage of being intimately acquainted with the person whom he has undertaken to describe, and has been attentive to mark whatever appeared singular in the constitution or progress of his mind.

George Lewis Le Sage was born at Geneva in 1724; to which city his father, a native of France, had for some time retired, and lived by giving private lessons in mathematics and natural philosophy. The son was early initiated in these studies; receiving, at the same time, in all the branches of literature, as liberal a course of education as his father's limited income would allow. A marked opposition, however, in their tastes and intellectual propensities, prevented the son from reaping from his father's instructions all the advantage that might have been expected. The old man was well informed; but his knowledge was very much confined to facts, and was accompanied with little tendency to reason, or to generalize. His son, again, even when a boy, delighted in connecting his ideas by general and abstract principles, and was not more inquisitive about facts, than about the relations in which they stood to one another. This propensity arose, in some measure at least, from the weakness of his memory, which forced him to study the most just and constant connexions among things, in order to prevent both words and ideas from escaping his recollection entirely. 'It was thus,' says M. Prevost, 'that we saw him, in his maturer years, and particularly in his old age, avoiding, with the greatest care, whatever could trouble the order of his thoughts, and substituting, with much art, a logical series of mental operations to the effort which the recollection of a single unconnected fact would necessarily have cost him.'

The history of Le Sage does indeed illustrate, in the clearest manner, the relation between the faculties of memory and abstraction, and the power which each has to supply the deficiencies of

of the other. Generalization gives us a command over our ideas more complete than we can ever derive from the mere efforts of memory: It holds in its hand the clue by which this latter faculty must be guided through the labyrinth of things; and there is room to doubt, whether the power thus given to the mind is not the main source of the delight arising from abstract and philosophic speculation. Were the memory in itself to become so perfect, as to be independent of connecting principles, generalization would not be necessary, and perhaps would rarely be attempted.

Two minds, both disposed to the acquisition of knowledge, could hardly be constituted with less conformity to one another, than those of Le Sage and his son. When the young man was labouring to classify his ideas, and to reduce them under general heads, the father was perpetually starting objections to his rules, and bringing forward the instances most difficult to be reduced to any general principle of arrangement. This seemed to proceed, not from any desire to embarrass or distress his son, but from a dislike which he had conceived (singular, doubtless, in a mathematician) to general methods, and to all systems whatsoever. The education, therefore, which he gave his son, was truly antiphilosophic, and certainly had no tendency to produce that love of order, system and method, which characterized him through his whole life. But the mind may be constituted with some powers so weak, that discipline cannot improve them; and with others so strong, that discipline, when most perverse, cannot destroy them. Nothing could give to young Le Sage a memory nearly equal to that of ordinary men; and nothing could take from him a delight and skill in generalization, which were vastly superior.

We must not imagine from this, that the whole plan of the old man, in the education of his son, was as perverse as in the case here mentioned: the information he communicated, even with so little of method and arrangement to connect the parts together, was of great value to his son, who, through his whole life, used to speak with much gratitude of his father's attention to his instruction, and of the pleasure and advantage he derived from his conversation.

The inquisitive turn of Le Sage soon displayed itself in questions, to which he did not always receive the kindest or most satisfactory answers, especially from his mother, who appears to have had none of the gentleness and patience necessary for the instruction of children. This led him to think of having recourse to trial and experience, and to interrogate nature, rather than any other instructor. One of his first attempts of this sort

has been recorded in his notes, and, from the singularity of it, deserves to be remembered.

At the time we are now speaking of, the Sabbath was observed at Geneva, with a gloom and austerity of which we in Scotland can probably form a more correct notion than the inhabitants of any other country in Christendom. Le Sage felt some curiosity to know whether the Author of Nature still continued to impose on himself the same law that originally marked the institution of the *day of rest.* It would have puzzled the first philosopher in Europe to think of any method by which this question could be brought to the decision of experiment; but the ingenuity of our young inquirer soon suggested an expedient. He measured, with great care, the increase of a plant, day after day, in order to discover whether it would cease growing on the Sabbath. The result could not fail to solve the difficulty, and to convince the young man, that though the work of creation might terminate, the work of Providence is never interrupted.

The pensive and contemplative turn of Le Sage was increased by the circumstance of his health being delicate, and his temperament too weak, to allow him to join in the fatiguing exercises which amused and occupied his companions. Great modesty, sensibility and reserve, added, as far as his mother was concerned, to the want of comfortable society at home, condemned him almost to continual solitude, and rendered the acquisition of knowledge his only enjoyment. Thus, from circumstances apparently unfortunate, much of his intellectual excellence may be supposed to have arisen.

It is material to observe every circumstance that gave a determination to a mind that has in any thing attained celebrity; but it is very rarely that this can be done so well as in the instance we have now before us. The father of our young philosopher had but few books; and almost the only entire work on physics, which he possessed, was that of Bernard Palissy. The writings of a man who was self instructed,—who had paid no regard to authority, when not supported by experience,—who had made valuable discoveries, and reached some very sublime and just notions concerning the structure and the revolutions of the globe, could not fail to make a strong impression on a young mind already inspired by the love of knowledge. However, though Le Sage became a great cosmologist, it does not appear that geology, of which Palissy was in some measure the founder, ever attracted much of his attention.

When he was not much more than thirteen, his father put into his hands the *Antiquité Expliquée* of Montfaucon, in order to excite in him a curiosity about researches into antiquity. It was the fate

fate of this young man, however, to derive, from the means used for his instruction, advantages very different from those that were intended, and often of far greater value. The weakness of Montfaucon's conjectures, concerning the use of many of the instruments he has described, did not escape the observation of Le Sage; and he began even then to try to establish some general and certain rules for discovering the end of a workman from the inspection of his work. Such extent of view, at so early a period of life, has rarely occurred, and must be considered as a decided mark of genius and originality. Some years after this period, connecting the pursuit just mentioned with one closely allied to it, namely, the rules that must guide us when, in the works of nature, we would trace the marks of the wise design of the Creator, he formed the idea of a treatise, entitled Teleology, and of which an account will afterwards be given.

The perusal of Lucretius is one of the events that did most determine the objects of Le Sage's researches, and indeed the whole colour and complexion of his future speculations. The precise time when this happened does not appear, though it was certainly very early, and before he had attained the age of twenty. It was then that he conceived the notion of a mechanical explanation of gravity, and of the reduction of all the motions observed in nature, to the principle of impulsion. This was suggested by the atoms of Lucretius; and the invention of a system by which such an explanation could be given, even with tolerable plausibility, must be considered as a work of great merit by all who know the difficulty with which it is attended, and its importance to philosophy. The system by which Le Sage proposed to effect this great object will be by and by considered.

Le Sage had the good fortune to study mathematics under Cramer, and philosophy under Calendrini, two eminent professors, who then adorned the University of Geneva. When it became necessary for him to make choice of a profession, he gave the preference to that of medicine. The pursuit of this study led him first to Basle, and afterwards to Paris. At the former place, he became acquainted with Daniel Bernoulli, from whom, however, his merit seems to have been completely concealed, by his awkwardness and diffidence. He says of himself, when he entered at this University—'Ill dressed, timid, and expressing myself with difficulty, I was quite neglected in the first months of my stay at Basle; insomuch, that they did not even think it worth while to speak French before me.' He undertook the study of the German, but the weakness of his memory did not permit him to succeed.

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The same awkwardness could not fail to have effects at Paris yet more unfavourable, as the narrowness of his income must likewise have had; yet he persevered not only in pursuing medicine, but in applying to his favourite objects in philosophy. At last he returned to Geneva; but not having the freedom of a burgess of the city, he was refused the privilege of practising as a physician; and saw himself, in the end, forced to relinquish every other view of fixing himself in life, but that of following the business of his father, and giving lessons in mathematics and natural philosophy.

For this he appears to have been well qualified. He says of himself, that the structure of his mind was such, as had fitted him for understanding the mathematics *well*, but not *extensively*. 'Propre à bien savoir les mathematiques, mais non a en savoir beaucoup.' The first part of this assertion, we imagine, may be understood more literally than the last; though it is probably true that he was not quite master of all the modern improvements of the *calculus*. Some of his remarks on the state of the mathematical sciences in France, are worth attending to. In a letter to the Duc de Rochefoucault, whom he had had the honour to instruct in the mathematics, dated in 1778, he has this observation.

'In their elementary treatises of mathematics and physics, the French writers take so little trouble about the foundations of those calculations, which they accumulate without end, that it seems as if they wanted to make all their pupils mere clerks in a banking-house, or assistants in an observatory. They treat geometry the least geometrically possible, under the pretence that algebraic demonstrations are the shortest: as if the only object were to get to the end, and as if the road leading to it were of no importance. They are in haste to give a few notions, rather grammatical than intellectual, of the sublimer parts, before they have sufficiently developed the elements. They seem desirous of reducing astronomy, the science of motion and chemistry, to be nothing but the humble attendants on navigation, gunnery, and the arts; as if all the world was destined for inspectors of the marine, of artillery, or manufactures; and as if the cultivation of reason was nothing in comparison with the art of getting wealth. This was not the proceeding of Descartes or Newton.' p. 272.

This character of the French elementary writers, though in certain respects just, evidently has something of the air of satire, and must not be received as perfectly correct. Of too little regard to the methods of pure geometry, and too much haste to reach the more profound parts of the calculus, they may certainly be accused. But a general preference of the methods of algebra and analysis, cannot be regarded as an error, if the foundations

tions of those methods are carefully and accurately explained. Analytical reasonings are so much preferable to synthetical, and the art of investigation is so much more easily learned in the school of algebra than in any other, that, in a system of mathematical instruction, this latter science is undoubtedly of the first consideration. It is true, on the other hand, that the methods of analysis are not confined to algebra. Geometry has its analytical reasonings, not so extensive, nor so general, as those of algebra, but possessing a degree of simplicity and beauty that is not excelled, or rather, we think, not equalled in any other branch of science. It is a stronger proof of the neglect of geometry, among the French mathematicians, than any thing that Le Sage has alleged, that in the *Encyclopedie*, intended to exhibit a complete picture of the knowledge of the eighteenth century, the article *geometrical analysis* is not to be found.

The love of accurate and precise knowledge, which Le Sage possessed eminently, probably qualified him well for a teacher of the mathematical sciences. He had several illustrious pupils, and none, certainly, who does him more credit than the present professor of mathematics in the university of Geneva. M. S. L'Huilier was his relation, and was instructed by him in the science which he now professes with so much credit both to his master and himself. He is one of the few mathematicians equally versed in the simple and elegant methods of the antient geometry, and in the profound researches of the modern analysis.

Le Sage, through his whole life, had to struggle with a feeble constitution, as well as the mental defects which have been already mentioned. He was particularly afflicted with sleeplessness, which, at times, used greatly to affect his intellectual powers, and reduce them to a state of extreme debility. Notwithstanding this, by employing every moment when his mind was clear and active, preserving such order and regularity as supplied the want of memory, committing every thing to writing, and having his papers in a state of the most complete arrangement, he was able to accomplish a great deal, and to devote much time to philosophical pursuits.

His studies, however, were rendered less useful than they might have been with the originality of his turn of thinking, the precision of his knowledge and the extent of his views, by the number of objects to which he directed his attention, and by his frequent changes from one pursuit to another. Though he came back easily to the same object, yet this did not entirely make up for the want of the continued application necessary in all great undertakings.

Accordingly, though few men wrote so much, and so accurately, he published nothing in his lifetime but mere *opuscula*, and has

has left few, if any, of his numerous manuscripts completely ready for the press.

One of the principal pieces which appeared in his lifetime shared the prize proposed by the Academy of Dijon in 1758, on the cause of chemical affinities. He entitled it *Essai de Chimie Mechanique*, and endeavoured to explain the whole of chemical action on the principle of impulse. He supposed the impelling fluid to be composed of particles of two kinds, the one greater, and the other less; and he demonstrated, in virtue of that single supposition, that homogeneous bodies must attract one another more than heterogeneous. This, however, it must be confessed, comprehends but a small part of the phenomena of chemistry. It was connected with the work on gravity, which was the great business, and the favourite occupation of his life.

An essay, '*Sur les Forces Mortes*,' which he sent to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, was never published.

In the history of the same Academy for 1756, a remark is inserted from Le Sage, containing the detection of an error committed by Euclid, in the 11th book of his Elements, on the subject of solid angles. It is remarkable, that nearly about the same time, Dr Simson of Glasgow made a similar detection, with respect to the manner in which equal solids are treated by the Greek geometer.

The tract, entitled, '*Lucrece Neutonien*,' was published in the Berlin Memoirs for 1782.

Besides these, he published a few other occasional pieces, and seems to have kept up a pretty extensive correspondence with several of the first philosophers of the age. His manuscripts are, a large treatise, '*Sur les Corpuscules Ultramondains*;' subordinate to which is '*Histoire Critique de la Pesanteur*.' This contains much learning, and treats of all the notions that have been entertained on the subject of gravity, and all the theories contrived for explaining it. A treatise on Cohesion, intended to show that it cannot be explained by the Newtonian attraction, is recommended by M. Prevost as a work of great merit, written during the full activity and vigour of the author's mind.

To these must be added the following;—on Elastic Fluids, on General Physics, on Logic, on Moral Philosophy, and on Final Causes; also, *Melanges Dystactiques*, &c. Among the latter was an Essay on Punctuation, concerning which he had a system of his own; to this system he adhered rigidly: and it is said to be very philosophical; but, perhaps for that very reason, it has never come into use.

It may be thought extraordinary, that so much should have been done, and yet so little completed. The habit of continually amassing

amassing materials, without reducing them into form, had grown on Le Sage to an excessive degree; and he used to apologize for it by saying, 'that as long as he could find any thing new to put on paper, he grudged the time that must be employed in polishing old materials, or casting them over again.'

The ingenuity of his mind, and the original turn of his thoughts, added to a character of great probity and worth, procured him esteem and respect wherever he was known. M. Prevost has given extracts from a number of very interesting letters, which passed between him and several of the most distinguished persons of the age: Among these are Madame Necker, the Duchesse d'Enville, Earl Stanhope, the Duke de Rochefoucault, M. M. d'Alembert, Euler, Turgot, Boscovich, Lambert, &c.

Though his constitution was originally weak, and his health always infirm, he reached the age of eighty, and died in 1803. His biographer has given a sketch of his intellectual character, from which we shall extract a few passages.

'It is impossible not to recognise, in the works of Le Sage, and his manner of thinking, a strong character of originality; and, if a cautious and regulated invention be characteristic of genius, this philosopher must be numbered with those whom nature has particularly distinguished. All who knew him, were at the same time sensible of his peculiarities, which he himself did not indeed attempt to conceal, but endeavoured to explain. He acknowledged that two of his faculties were weak,—attention and memory. He was unable to fix the former on one subject for any considerable length of time; and, as he could not attend, without great difficulty, to more than one thing at the same moment, he was very easily interrupted. "I supply," said he, "the want of *extent* in my attention, by great order and regularity; and its want of *continuance*, by frequently returning to the same subject." From this methodical proceeding it arose, that few men were ever more persevering than Le Sage in directing their researches to the same objects.

'His memory was unmanageable and capricious in a high degree. He had no power over it; and, in order to direct it, was obliged to have recourse to all sorts of artifices. He seized, with avidity, the moments when his ideas were clearest, and his faculties most active. "I have," says he, "extreme difficulty in connecting my thoughts, so as to make an assemblage at all supportable; and am like a painter who would work in the night, without any other illumination than what was derived from sudden and unexpected flashes of lightning."

'His method and order, in some respects, supplied so well the weakness of his memory, that, in conversation, no defect of that faculty was at all discernible. It was, accordingly, one of his constant sources of complaint, that he could not convince his friends of the badness of his memory. They who conversed with him, heard him perpetually relate, with precision, the dates, and even the most minute circumstances,

circumstances, of very inconsiderable events. They believed his memory to be tenacious; whereas, the truth was, that he kept notes of every thing, and was every now and then consulting his repertories.

'Such being the weakness of his intellectual organization, he often asked himself, how he had ever been able to do any thing at all? To this question, his own manuscripts afford many answers; one of the best of which is a note, entitled, "*Clef de Mon Tour-d'Esprit.*" I have been born with four dispositions well adapted for making progress in science, but with two great defects in the faculties necessary for that purpose. 1. An ardent desire to know the truth. 2. Great activity of mind. 3. An uncommon *(justesse)* soundness of understanding. 4. A strong desire for precision and distinctness of ideas. 5. An excessive weakness of memory. 6. A great incapacity of continued attention.'

By using the resources which nature had bestowed, and compensating, by much skill and labour, the want of the qualities she withheld, he was able to make no small progress even as an inventor in science. He used to apply to himself the saying of Bacon,—*Claudum in viâ cursorem extra viam antevertere*

One of the principal causes that retarded the publication of his works, was the difficulty of making his favourite system be relished in the scientific world. The conviction which he himself had of its truth, and the complete persuasion that it must ultimately prevail, could not prevent him from perceiving, that though all acknowledged the ingenuity, yet few were prepared to admit the truth of his theory. He was perfectly aware, that his own way of thinking on this, as well as many other subjects, was peculiar, and not readily adopted by other men.

This is strongly marked by the title of one of his parcels of notes; 'On the immiscibility of my thoughts with those of others.' He has investigated, in his usual way, the causes of this immiscibility, and has divided his readers into different classes, according to their greater or less fitness to judge of the principles of his philosophy. He has applied to himself a line of Ovid, with much truth.—

Non ego cessavi, nec fecit inertia serum.

Without entering on this discussion, we shall endeavour to give the best idea we can of the system so often mentioned, as far as we have been able to collect it from his letters, and from the very ingenious tract, *Lucrece Newtonien*, which Mr Prevost has introduced into his Appendix.

The object of this system was to explain the law of gravity, both as it prevails on the earth and in the heavens, by the principle of impulse. The causes of all the motions we perceive in the material world, may be reduced to three—Impulse, Attraction, and Repulsion. Impulse acts by contact; one moving body communicates motion to another body; and the rule by which this

change is produced, is, that the motion communicated in any given direction, and that which is lost in the same direction, are precisely equal. The motions that we ourselves impress on the bodies around us, are of this nature.

Again, when a stone falls to the ground, or when iron approaches a magnet, motion is produced without contact; both the bodies acquire motions which are equal, but in opposite directions. The motions ascribed to repulsion are of the same kind with these last, in as much as there is no contact, and as the motions acquired in opposite directions are equal. The only difference is, that the bodies, instead of approaching, recede from one another. Whether attraction and repulsion may not be regarded as one and the same law, acting under different circumstances, we do not at present inquire: the object of Le Sage was to reduce them both to impulse; and, could this be done, it would no doubt be a great advance in science, and we might seem, in one quarter at least, to have pushed our researches to their legitimate and proper termination. Our idea of the communication of motion by impulse, is not without difficulty; but it is clearer and more familiar to us than any other, and is that with which the mind is most disposed to remain satisfied.

The chrystalline spheres of the antients may be regarded as the first attempt to explain the motion of the heavenly bodies by impulse; the vortices of Descartes is the next; the ether of Newton is the third. The first is known to be without foundation; the second is a vague and gratuitous supposition; and the third is, at best, far from being satisfactory.

Le Sage has certainly been more fortunate than any of his predecessors; and his hypothesis has this undoubted superiority above all the others that have been proposed for explaining gravitation, that it assigns a satisfactory reason why that force varies inversely as the square of the distance.

Suppose that, through any one point of space, innumerable straight lines are drawn in all different directions, each making a very small angle with those that are nearest it; and let a torrent of particles, or *indivisible atoms*, move continually in a direction parallel to each of these lines, the section of each torrent, in a transverse direction to its motion, being equal to the section of the sensible world in the same direction. Thus, there will be an indefinite number of torrents of atoms intersecting one another in every possible direction, much like the streams of light which issue from all the points of the surface of a luminous body. The analogy between the emanation of light and the motion of those corpuscles, is so close, that an imagination which is familiar with the one, will not experience much

much difficulty in becoming familiar with the other. Like light, also, the atoms, of which these torrents are composed, must be supposed to move with inconceivable rapidity, and to be of such extreme minuteness, that, though flowing continually in all directions, they do not obstruct or interfere with the motions of one another.

If, now, it be supposed that these atoms are unable to penetrate the solid and indivisible particles of bodies, and, when they enter bodies, can only pass through the intervals or vacuities between their particles, it is evident that they must strike against those particles, and must therefore communicate a certain degree of motion to them, or to the bodies of which they are composed.

If, then, there were but a single body in the universe, with whatever force the torrents of atoms struck against its particles, the body would remain at rest, the impulses in opposite directions being perfectly equal. But if there be two bodies; then, since each of them, by intercepting a part of the atoms of the torrents, will shelter the other from the action of so much force, it is evident that the bodies will be both impelled toward one another, and that each of them will receive fewer shocks on the side where the other body is, than on the opposite. Further, if we suppose the bodies spherical, the intensity of this force, *cæteris paribus*, will be proportional to the angular space included within a cone, which has for either base the transverse section of the bodies. Now, it is easy to prove that this angular space is proportional to the square of the distance of the bodies inversely. Therefore, the force with which the bodies will be urged toward one another, will be inversely as the square of the distance, which is the law followed by gravity.

This will be true if the bodies are equal in quantity of matter, so as to intercept equal quantities of the atoms. But if their quantities of matter are unequal, then, at an average of all the chances, each will intercept a number of particles proportional to its quantity of matter, and so the forces with which the bodies are impelled toward one another, will be as the quantity of matter directly, and the square of the distance inversely. This is precisely the law of gravitation; and the particles by which this effect is brought about, are called by Le Sage the gravific, or the ultramundane atoms.

This hypothesis, as already observed, must be confessed to have done what no other attempt to account for gravity can boast of, that is, to have assigned a reason why that force is inversely as the square of the distance, and directly as the quantity of matter. It has, then, the precision which belongs to truth, and

which though it does not amount to a proof of a hypothesis where it is found, is an abundant reason for rejecting one, where it is wanting.

The vortices of Descartes, and the ether of Newton, do neither of them give any reason why gravity should be supposed to obey one law more than another; why it should be inversely as the squares, any more than the cubes, or any other power, nay, any other function, of the distances. The extreme vagueness of such hypotheses is an insurmountable objection to them, and even were they true, it renders them of no use whatsoever. Concerning a cause so imperfectly understood, we can never reason at all; and we derive, therefore, no advantage from knowing it to be true. The knowledge of the fact without the cause is just as valuable.

The above is the outline of Le Sage's theory. To follow it into all its detail, and all the variety of its applications, is a task for which we are not prepared, and one quite foreign from our purpose. It is enough, if we can in any degree awaken a curiosity which the works of the author are afterwards to gratify.

Some objections to this theory have been stated in the letters that Le Sage received from his correspondents. Boscovich, who had a system concerning the different forces which are the cause of motion, the very opposite of what has now been laid down, one in which all contact and immediate impulse are denied, could not possibly admit the theory of gravific atoms, and has stated an objection to it, which appears to us of considerable weight. The action of these atoms supposes a vast superfluity of matter, and an infinity of corpuscles, created, each, to give, at most, only a single blow, and many of them never to have any effect whatsoever. An immense multitude of atoms, thus destined to pursue their never-ending journey through the infinity of space, without changing their direction, or returning to the place from which they came, is a supposition very little countenanced by the usual economy of nature. Whence is the supply of these innumerable torrents? must it not involve a perpetual exertion of creative power, infinite both in extent and in duration? The means here employed seem greater than the end, great as it is, can justify; and Le Sage must be allowed, if his system is rejected, to have had the merit of imagining a species of machinery more powerful and extensive than even the preservation of the universe can be supposed to require.

Another objection, which, we understand from the author himself, had been made to his hypothesis, is, that, were it true, a body enclosed on all sides, ought to gravitate less to the earth, than if it were in the open air. The roof or vault over head, would

would of course diminish the action of the *gravific* atoms that had to pass through it, and would make the body fall to the ground with less velocity than it would have done in the open air. To this it was easy to reply, that the effect here stated is real on every supposition; but is so small that it cannot be measured in our experiments. The gravitation of a heavy body, in a room, to the roof above it, must, on the common hypothesis of attraction, diminish its weight just as much as it would be diminished by the roof's obstructing some of the gravific atoms. In both cases, the effect would be precisely the same, but too small to make any sensible diminution of the gravitation toward the great mass of the earth.

The obstruction which the gravific atoms would give to the motion of bodies, by producing a kind of resisting medium, was also objected to the doctrine of Le Sage. This might no doubt be answered, by alleging that the same effect may as well be ascribed to light, which, in this respect, is in circumstances very similar to the gravific atoms. Indeed, the analogy between those atoms and the particles of light as emitted from bodies, affords the means of refuting the greater part of the objections alleged against the existence of the former. This, however, supposes that the phenomena of light are interpreted in the Newtonian manner, or by an emanation from luminous bodies. If light is considered as an elastic fluid, the vibrations of which communicate to the eye the impressions which give rise to vision, the analogy referred to has no place. Accordingly Euler, in his letters to Le Sage, observes, that this analogy had no weight with him, as he did not believe in the emanation of light. He inclines to account for gravity from the pressure of a subtle matter composing a vortex. He is not very explicit, however, and has left us much in the dark as to his opinions on this subject. His letters are, nevertheless, very interesting, particularly that dated from Berlin, 16th April 1763.

It is a good remark of Le Sage, speaking of the analogy between light and the gravific atoms, that if all bodies were transparent, so that light was never stopped in its course, it (light) would not be perceived by us, nor apprehended to exist any more than the corpuscles to which he ascribes the cause of gravity. We are, in truth, indebted to darkness, or the absence of light, for our idea of the latter, as a separate and independent substance. Without the information thus afforded, we might be induced by reasoning to believe that there was something necessary to vision, beside the eye and the object; but we would have no proof of its existence from immediate perception, any more than we now have of the cause of gravitation.

Le Sage certainly did not borrow his notions concerning the cause of gravity from any one; but he was not the first to whom such notions had occurred. Fatio de Duillier had, in some respects, anticipated the doctrine of gravific atoms; at least he had conceived a mechanical explanation of gravitation, which agreed in several particulars with that which has been described above.

The name of Fatio is well known to those who have studied the controversy between Newton and Leibnitz. He was a mathematician of considerable eminence, though noted for a strange departure from the character of a philosopher, by joining himself to a set of fanatics, who carried their extravagance so far as seriously to undertake the raising of the dead. Fatio, however, never published any thing on the cause of gravitation; and his treatise on it remains still in manuscript. Mr Le Sage was first informed of this in the year 1749 by Professor Cramer, not till after his essay *sur les Forces Mortes*, in which he treated of this subject, was communicated to the Academy of Sciences at Paris. Le Sage left nothing undone to rescue the work of Fatio from oblivion, taking much interest in the fate of a theory founded on the same principles with his own, and invented by a man of acknowledged ability. Fatio died in England in the year 1753, in Worcestershire, at the age of ninety. His manuscripts had fallen into the hands of his neighbours, and of the people with whom he lodged. Some friends of Le Sage's in London, had the good fortune to procure them for him. He soon after deposited them in the library at Geneva, where they still remain.

It is worth observing, that the theory of Fatio must have been known to Newton, with whom he lived in friendship, not merely from a resemblance in their philosophic, but also, as has been alleged, from an agreement in their religious sentiments. Yet it is no where hinted at by Newton, even when he is engaged in inquiries on this very subject. It is probable that he did not approve of the system of his friend, who does not appear to have had the same clear views of the matter with Le Sage, nor to have had the same ingenuity in removing the objections to his theory.

A prejudice of a very unphilosophic nature, has lately prevailed in this country, against attempts of the kind made in the writings of Le Sage. It has been represented as impious, and savouring of irreligion, to offer any physical or mechanical explanation of the force of gravity.

This, we must observe, is quite a new doctrine. Newton, who was a man of true and sincere piety, thought that he was doing nothing more inconsistent with his duty, when he was endeavouring to explain the action of gravity by that of an ethereal

real fluid, than when he demonstrated that the planets revolve in ellipses, and describe round their common focus areas that are proportional to the time. Dr Clarke was of the same opinion, and has admitted, that a mechanical explanation of gravity would be of great importance in philosophy. Such an attempt is undoubtedly attended with difficulty; and perhaps we are destined to remain for ever ignorant of the cause which produces the phenomena of attraction. There can, however, be no impropriety in endeavouring, while there appear to be two kinds of causes that produce motion, to try to reduce them to one. If this is maintained to be impious, it must be on the same principle that Anaxagoras was charged with irreligion, for affirming that the planets are bodies like the earth. The same mistaken zeal has in every age opposed the same obstacles to the advancement of true philosophy.

We had almost forgot to mention the particular drift of Le Sage in the tract on the gravific atoms, which he called *Lucrece Neutonien*. He endeavours to show that Epicurus, with a little attention to geometry, and the possession of no more physical knowledge than was to be found among some of his contemporaries, might have been led, by the atomical system, to the discovery of gravitation, and of the laws of the planetary motions. The tract is very ingenious and interesting.

The subject of Teleology, or the doctrine of final causes, was one which occupied the thoughts of Le Sage, at intervals, during his whole life. Of his speculations on this subject, we are presented with a few fragments, that are in no small degree curious and interesting. The publication is by M. Reverdil, who had assisted in the composition of the work, and to whom Le Sage, in his will, left the charge of this manuscript. About the year 1740, Le Sage formed the plan of a *Theory of the Ends of Nature and of Art.* Wolff, who at that time taught the philosophy of Leibnitz in Germany with great reputation, in his treatise on logic, recommended the theory of Ends to be treated under the name of Teleology; and this term was adopted by Le Sage. M. Reverdil informs us, that Le Sage was confirmed in his design, by finding that some men of great celebrity had about that time conspired to combat the doctrine of final causes; some of them on a principle of universal scepticism; others to give weight to the proofs of the existence of God derived from other sources; and many, struck no doubt with the weak and childish arguments that had been often maintained on this subject. Le Sage wished to oppose all these, and in particular the latter, by showing that the theory of final causes was

not necessarily of the vague and unsatisfactory nature just alluded to.

'The greater part of the works,' says he, 'that have made their appearance on this subject, contain principles so vague and unsupported, observations so puerile and detached, and reflexions so common-place and declamatory, that it is not wonderful if they produced an effect the direct opposite of that which was intended. A theory of ENDS, or FINAL CAUSES, might be given, exempt from these great defects; embracing the objects both of nature and art; furnishing, first, rules of synthesis for the composition of a work, when the ends and means were both given; and, next, rules of analysis for discovering the intention of an artist, from the examination of his works.'

M. Reverdil has given us only a few fragments from the treatise which had been drawn up conformably to this plan. Those that follow will show in what manner Le Sage had endeavoured to avoid the faults which he has reprobated in others.

'A wise cause must have respect to the smallest degrees of good, because, if they are not infinitely small, the amount of the whole may be of importance; so that, if they were neglected, a considerable quantity of evil might arise.

'There is nothing incongruous, therefore, in supposing the Divine Wisdom exercised in determining the curvature of the wing of a scarabæus, or in planning the cells of a bee-hive. It may be true, that it imports little to the universe, whether a scarabæus fly, with more or less ease, or a bee, employ its wax with the greatest possible frugality. It imports much, however, to the scarabæus or the bee, and on that account, is an object not unworthy of the attention of the Creator. If the precision in the structure of the wings or cells of these insects is useful for any purpose, however small, that utility, multiplied by the number of all the scarabæi, and all the bees which have been, which are, and which are to be, may become of a considerable amount.

'When the execution of any purpose gives rise to inconvenience which admits of remedy;—of all the remedies that can be applied, that is the best which rises out of the evil itself, because it is always at hand when wanted, and is sure to possess the necessary strength. Such remedies are sometimes to be met with in the arts. It was thus that a hint of Monsieur the Prince of Conti, furnished Reaumur with the means of admitting the necessary quantity of air into his furnaces for hatching chickens, by making the heat of the furnace open the door of a register. The gridiron pendulum of Graham, is an instance of the same kind.

'In nature, the contraction and dilatation of the pupil of the eye, is a most remarkable instance of an inconvenience corrected by its own operation.

'When all the accidents which happen to a work derange it; and when all those that can happen to it have a tendency to do the same,

same, that work is the best possible. For it is evident, that it either cannot be improved, or that the improvement of it is highly improbable.

'When all the good of a system can easily be traced to general principles; and when all the evils appear to be exceptions closely connected with some good, the excess being evidently, though perhaps but in a small degree, on the side of good, the contriver must be regarded as beneficent.

'Hypothetical reasonings (whether concerning final or efficient causes) are susceptible of the highest degree of evidence when two conditions are fulfilled; when the given hypothesis explains many phenomena, and contradicts none; and when every other hypothesis is inconsistent with some of the phenomena.

'As it is very rare that one is able to reckon up all the *hypotheses* imaginable, in order to show that only one of them can be received, the best philosophers, and the most scrupulous, have contented themselves with less, and have thought it sufficient if the hypothesis which they adopt explains many phenomena with precision. The more numerous the phenomena, and the greater the degree of *precision*, with the more confidence do they conclude, that no other supposition will account for the appearances. It is on such a foundation as this, that the theory of gravitation is established.'

On the whole, we conceive that this treatise on Teleology is written on more philosophical principles than most of those that have appeared; and we cannot but regret that it has not been given to the public entire, or with such alterations as the changes in the state of science might seem to require. The date of the M.S is 1756; and, since that time, the discoveries in philosophy must have, no doubt, added considerably to the examples that might be brought to illustrate the doctrine of final causes; a doctrine which we cannot help thinking might be so treated, as to form one of the most beautiful and interesting branches of human knowledge. Indeed, we should be glad to think that more of the works of our learned and ingenious author were destined to see the light. M. Prevost, who, in the biographical sketch before us, has so judiciously consulted the reputation of his friend, and the information of the public, has it still in his power to render an important service to both.

ART.

ART XI. *Modern Geography. A Description of the Empires, Kingdoms, States and Colonies, with the Oceans, Seas and Isles, in all parts of the World, including the most recent Discoveries and Political Alterations, digested on a New Plan.* By John Pinkerton. The Astronomical Introduction by the Reverend S. Vince, A. M. F. R. S. &c. &c. with numerous Maps revised by the Author. To the whole are added a Catalogue of the best Maps and Books of Travels and Voyages in all Languages, and an ample Index. A new Edition, greatly enlarged. 3 vol. 4to. pp. 2800. London, Cadell & Co., Longman & Co. 1807.

IN a former Number of this Journal,* we bestowed considerable attention upon the first edition of Mr Pinkerton's work. We commended him for several beneficial changes which he had introduced into the manner of treating the subject; and we gave him credit for a great degree of labour in the collection of his materials. As the new edition which lies before us has been increased more than one half in bulk, and is presented rather as a new work, than a republication, we are called upon to consider in what manner the alteration has been effected,—how far the purchasers of the first work have been fairly treated,—and whether the favourable judgment pronounced on that edition may be extended to the one now offered to the public.

The first edition was given as a finished work. No allusion was made to a continuation. It pretended to be such a system of geography as the existing state of the science enabled the author to compile. We were told that it had been the favourite object of his study, from his earliest years, and that it was accomplished at the period of all others the most appropriate for giving such a present to the world. 'No period of time' (said Mr Pinkerton in his preface, 1st edition) 'could be more favourable to the appearance of a new system of geography, than the beginning of a new century, after the elapse of the eighteenth, which will be memorable in all ages from the gigantic progress of every science, and in particular of geographical information; nor less from the surprising changes which have taken place in most countries of Europe, and which, of themselves, render a new description indispensable. Whole kingdoms have been annihilated; grand provinces transferred; and such a general alteration has taken place in states and boundaries, that a geographical work, published five years ago, may be pronounced to be already antiquated.'

* No. V. Art. VI.

ed.'—'After a general war,' he continues, 'of the most eventful description; after revolutions of the most astonishing nature; Europe, at length, reposes in universal peace. The new divisions and boundaries no longer fluctuate with every campaign, but are established by solemn treaties which promise to be durable, as at no former period has war appeared more sanguinary or destructive, and at the same time more fruitless, even to the victors.'

It soon appeared, however, that all these reasons for publishing geography in 1801, were susceptible of an extended application,—nay, that the attempt was then premature, the first edition incomplete, and the true epoch for unfolding the system—not during the permanent 'repose' secured by the 'universal peace' of Amiens, but the profound tranquillity of the present day—when several states have been destroyed and others created, during the printing of our author's volumes! Accordingly, the prefatory advertisement to this new edition begins with an unmerciful abuse of the former one, 'in which, it seems, a great portion of Asia, and the whole of America and Africa, had been treated with such brevity, that there was no space even for the most important and interesting geographical information.' 'The striking brevity and deficiency' of half the second volume, we are told, had been 'perceived at home and abroad.' 'In a general system of geography,' Mr Pinkerton observes, 'it is indispensable that there be a harmony of the parts; and the author must be an impartial cosmopolite, without predilection for particular portions.' Moreover, 'after long reflection and experience, the author has discovered, that an exact system of geography, of whatever size, ought to be divided into three parts;' one for Europe, another for Asia, because it 'teems with civilized empires and states, not to mention its vast extent;' and he has further discovered, that of the remaining third part, 'two thirds must ever be allotted to America,' and one to Africa, on account 'of the harmony of proportions, importance, and materials.' For all which reasons, and because Mr Pinkerton had procured some Spanish books, and because a few new volumes of tracts have been published, the two volumes of the first edition are now worked up into three, by such means as we shall presently describe. The additions which are made, in order to supply the acknowledged defects of the first edition, are so incorporated with the present, that they cannot be procured separately; and the unlucky purchasers of that complete system have now the satisfaction of hearing its manifold imperfections proclaimed by the author himself, who will furnish no remedy but the purchase of this 'new work.' He adds, however, in case of further

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ther alarms, that this is to be the last demand; but the only security which he gives, is an appeal to his discovery of 'harmony' above noticed. It would be impossible, he says, to add another volume without destroying 'this harmony.' He boasts, therefore, that '*at length* he has been able to complete his favourite plan of presenting to the public a system of modern geography, duly proportioned in all its parts, and such as to offer harmony and uniformity in its various divisions and arrangements.' We shall not tire our readers with quoting the other praises which he bestows upon himself, and quotes from others in the course of his work. We shall merely proceed to justify ourselves for differing very widely from him on those topics. Referring to the former article for an account of his plan, the most 'noble, scientific and luminous, of any before projected,' (vol. I. p. 22.) we shall endeavour to show in what manner the additions now made have been executed; and we greatly deceive ourselves, if our readers shall not agree with us, before the close of the detail, in the opinion, that these additions, where they are not mere insertions of other mens writings, betray unpardonable carelessness and ignorance, augmenting the bulk, and not the value of the original work. In order to illustrate this position, we shall consider, successively, the principal improvements for which Mr Pinkerton takes credit. The additions made to the geography of Asia and the Asiatic Islands of Africa, of the United States, Spanish America, and the West Indies, are, as we have already observed, the bulk of the new matter which has swelled the book to its present size. But the changes which have happened in Europe since 1802 are at least equally important; and we shall begin by examining how far the author has kept pace with these. It would be endless to point out the mistakes into which he has fallen in the first volume, devoted to European geography 'according to the harmony.' We shall therefore take Germany as a fair specimen of the rest. No country abounds so much in statistical writers. It has been most frequently visited by Englishmen during the late wars. Its language is pretty generally understood. Its importance to the rest of the world never was more striking than in these times. Our author had, therefore, every facility, as well as every inducement, for exerting himself to exhibit a just picture of the German states, according to their appearances after the treaty of Presburg. Let us see how he has succeeded.

To the geography of the Prussian monarchy in its zenith, he has allotted no more than twenty-three pages; a proportion not too scanty for the dominions which now remain to that unfortunate power. Yet even in this short sketch of so vast a subject, the

the number of his inaccuracies and defects is altogether unaccountable. By following him through these with some minuteness, we shall be able to judge of his claims to the highest rank among laborious and skilful compilers.

The extent and boundaries of the country are given in a most negligent manner. The length and breadth of the body of the state, exclusive of detached provinces, are first noted; and the boundaries are then described as follows.

'On the east and south, Prussia now borders on the dominions of Russia and Austria; and the western limits adjoin to the bishopric of Hildesheim, if ambition have not extended them still further.' I. 404.

Here is no mention of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and the Baltic on the north, or of Saxony, which bounds a considerable part of the southern frontier; and for the western limit of a country which extends over more than four degrees of latitude, we are referred to a line of about eleven miles in length, 'if ambition have not already extended it further.' That the treaty of indemnities did extend it further, above four years ago, appears in a supplementary note, attached, not to this article, but to the description of the German states. But even in this misplaced supplement, the changes effected by the treaty on the Prussian limits are most imperfectly stated. Of the acquisitions made by Prussia, Hildesheim, Paderborn and Munster only are named; Erfurt, Blankenhayn, Untergleichen, Eichsfeld, Mulhausen, Nordhausen, Quedlinburg, Essen, Werden, Elten, and Ihrford, are omitted. Nor is any mention made of Cleves, Gelders, and Mœrs, which were ceded by her; or of the mutual cessions which took place between Bavaria and her in 1803.

The passage above extracted is immediately followed by a statement of the population, in which the extent of the country, the subject in hand, occurs incidentally. 'Before the recent acquisitions in Poland, the number of Prussian subjects was only computed at 5,621,500, in a total extent of 56,414 square miles, that is, about 99 to the square mile. At present, they probably amount to about eight millions, including the Margraviate of Anspach and Bareuth, computed at 400,000, and the last acquisitions in Poland estimated at 2,100,000 inhabitants.' A note, however, is subjoined, stating that Prussia has recently ceded the Margraviate, together with Neufchatel and Wallengin, 'to the French arrangements in Germany.'

Now, the sum of what we learn from all this, respecting the actual extent of Prussia, proves to be, that it is a country composed of many contiguous provinces, and of some detached pieces of territory; but the proportion of the mass to these parcels

is not stated; that the greatest length and breadth of the former is so and so, from which no conjecture can be formed of its magnitude, and still less of the size of the detached parts, which form, however, more than a tenth of the body of the state.* We learn, moreover, that there was a time when its territory amounted to 56,414 square miles; that since that time it has acquired certain provinces, some of which have been ceded again; but no other measure is given of their magnitude, than the number of inhabitants which they contain; and if, by dividing this number by 99, (the average number upon a square mile in the rest of the kingdom), we attempt to estimate the extent of the new acquisitions, we shall be led into an error of nearly *one third* of the whole.† Such and so enlarged are Mr Pinkerton's talents for statistical inquiries.

The historical epochs are necessarily complex, and the earlier ones not very interesting. But an event of such importance as the partition of Poland, should not have been omitted in noticing the reign of Frederic II. There is an inaccuracy, too, in calling the prince who began his reign in 1713, Frederic William II. He was the first king of that name; for his father, though the third elector of the name of Frederic, was the first monarch, and is accordingly styled invariably Frederic I. In a work of less overbearing pretensions than the present, such things would signify comparatively little. But a few mistakes of this sort will greatly damage its reputation among the elaborate men of Germany, whose unseemly volumes it is intended to supplant.

We come next to the chapter upon *political geography*, which begins with 'religion.' 'The ruling religion of Prussia,' says Mr Pinkerton, 'is the Protestant, under its two chief divisions of Lutheran and Calvinistic But after the recent acquisitions in Poland, it would *seem* that the greater number of the inhabitants must be Roman Catholic.' *Seem* is a favourite word with Mr Pinkerton, and he may fancy that it has its convenience. He is mistaken, however, if he expects such a veil to keep a cunning reader from guessing at the real dimensions of his information. A little inquiry would have enabled him to tell us what the

* Krug estimates the superficial extent of the contiguous provinces at 80,800 square miles, and that of the detached territories at 8,800. —(*Abriss der Neusten Statistic des Preuss-Staats.* 1805.)

† Hassel gives the extent of the Prussian acquisitions in Poland, 1793 and 1795, at 31,824 square miles. Computing from Mr Pinkerton's *data*, we should make them only 21,212.—(*Statistischer Umriss*, 1805.)

the proportion in question really is; or, at least, what it is calculated to be by Prussian writers. Hassel reckons that of a population of 9,856,000 persons, 5,187,900 are Protestants, 4,352,000 Roman Catholics, the remaining 316,100 being Jews, Greeks, &c. And Krug, who computes the population at 9,700,000, reckons 4,800,000 *Lutherans* alone; so that the Protestants *seem* to be considerably more numerous, not only than the Catholics, but than all the other sects put together.

As under the title of 'Extent,' we were referred to the population of the country; so, upon the subject of its population we are now referred back again to its extent. 'Before the acquisitions in Poland, this kingdom was supposed to contain only about five millions and a half of inhabitants, including one million and a half in Silesia. But the late great acquisition in Poland has greatly enlarged the number of inhabitants, which may be about eighty to the square mile.' But as we are not informed of how many square miles this acquisition consisted, the average of eighty to the square mile is of little service in computing the aggregate population; and we are indebted to a note which refers us to another note, for an estimate of what the population was in 1801. In the two following years, Prussia gained, by different territorial arrangements, 400,000 subjects; and this augmentation, together with other causes, has so increased the number of inhabitants since 1801, that the same author, who is cited by Mr Pinkerton as in that year computing them at 8,021,149, reckoned them at 9,500,000 in 1804.—(See Hoeck's Appendix.) Hassel gives 9,856,000, and Krug 9,700,000.

The above mentioned note differs also from the text, to a considerable amount, in the statement of the Prussian army. Upon points which are so variable, it must often happen that an author, anxious to furnish the latest information, will be compelled to correct in a note, errors discovered too late for the alteration of the text. But this excuse cannot apply to corrections drawn from documents published five years ago.

This objection is applicable to almost every part of the present work, where attempts are made to follow the changes which the subject has undergone. In those cases, the old statement is retained; sometimes a note is inserted in the same page, alluding to a change having happened; and sometimes we have to correct the passage by another note in a supplement, or under a different head altogether. But, to go on with the specimen of statistics now under examination.

The article on the Prussian revenues begins thus. 'Before the additions of Polish territory, the revenue was estimated at 3,880,000*l.* Sterling;' and, after enumerating some heads of expenditure,

penditure, Mr Pinkerton proceeds to say, that 'the entire revenue of Poland was not computed to exceed 439,546l. Sterling. If we even suppose half of this added to the Prussian revenue, the result would not be important,' &c. This unfortunate partition of Poland is a constant source of doubt and perplexity to Mr Pinkerton; and when he applies to Hoeck for more recent information, he finds him computing the revenues 'sometimes in dollars, sometimes in florins, and in such minute subdivisions, that the calculation would be very laborious.' He therefore lays him aside, and has recourse to 'the intelligent author of *La Prusse & sa Neutralité*, who puts the revenue at above five * millions Sterling.' Now, the difference between this sum and the calculation made above, which would amount only to 4,099,773l., is so very inconsiderable, that it is surprising he was not led to inquire whether any other event had occurred since this partition of Poland, which could so materially affect the Prussian revenue. He might then have learnt, that other provinces have in the mean time been acquired, the amount of whose revenue equals that of the new Polish provinces. He seems indeed to have been aware, that the entire revenue of Poland, that is to say, its revenue under a different form of government, and more than thirty years ago, might be an imperfect criterion of its present value.

It might give some relief to this tedious detail of mistated facts, to examine a little the consistency of the speculations which are offered under the title of 'political importance and relations.' Five years ago, the arms and influence of Russia were our author's great terror; but he is now so alarmed from the other side, that, in addition to a strict alliance with Denmark and Sweden, he would put Prussia in possession of Hanover, of all the north of Germany, of the whole dominions formerly belonging to Poland, and of Holland as far as the Rhine, to enable her to oppose the preponderance of France. But as these are points, for the discussion of which we never thought Mr Pinkerton peculiarly qualified, we shall pass them over, and continue our inquiry into those which are more open to the efforts of that habit of laborious investigation for which we had given him credit.

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* Hoeck, in an appendix to that work, where the calculations of dollars and florins were so inconvenient to Mr Pinkerton, reckons the revenue at 36,000,000 dollars, or about 6,000,000*l.* Sterling. And Hassel, who quotes him and many other writers upon the subject, computes it at from 38 to 40,000,000 dollars, or about six millions and a half.—(*Statistischer Unvrius*, 1805.)

In the literary history of Prussia, the name of Leibnitz, under whose auspices the Academy of Sciences at Berlin was first established, ought to have found a place; as well as that of Wolff, who, besides the persecutions which he underwent, and the distinctions which he afterwards obtained in the University of Halle, has the additional claim of having been born in what is now a Prussian province: those of Humboldt, Klaproth and others, might also have been added to the list of men of genius and learning.

In the account of the universities, the principal ones * Halle and Erlangen are omitted; and Posen, which is mentioned as a university, is only a royal school. That of Frankfort on the Oder is attributed, by the author of the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, to John Cicero, the father of the prince whom Mr Pinkerton names as its founder.

The rapid increase of population in the Prussian dominions, must have rendered the account, which was before given, of the number of inhabitants of the principal towns, very inaccurate; and, accordingly, we find very considerable differences between Mr Pinkerton's estimates and those of the later German authors; a comparative statement of some of which is given below.† The assertion, that, excepting Breslaw, there are only three towns in Silesia which contain more than 6000 inhabitants, is contradicted by Hassel, who enumerates eight others whose population exceeds that number. There are likewise five other towns besides Warsaw, in South Prussia alone, which contain, according to Hassel, above 6000 persons, though Mr Pinkerton asserts, that no

* The number of students in the principal universities are given by Hassel, in 1805, as follows. Halle, in 1802, 634; Erlangen, 1801, 300; Konigsberg, 1802, 300; Frankfort (no date) 180.

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According to *Mr P.*		*Hassel.*		*Krug.*	
Berlin	142,099	1803	153,128	1803	153,000
Breslaw	52,000	1803	60,950	1803	60,000
Warsaw	66,572	1801	63,358	1803	64,000
Dantzick . . .	36,000	1801	46,213	1802	47,000
Magdeburg . .	26,000	1798	30,611	1802	32,000

The numbers which Mr Pinkerton reckons for Berlin, are taken from the tables of 1798, when upon an average taken from the two preceding years, the number of inhabitants was increasing at the rate of 3726 yearly.

no other of the towns recently acquired in Poland even equal this population.

The inland navigation is spoken of more contemptuously than it deserves. The most important canals, indeed, are not remarkable for their extent; but, by joining the Elbe, the Oder and the Vistula, they form an uninterrupted line of navigation of six or seven hundred miles in length; and the traffic upon them, though a good deal fettered by the difference of duties in different provinces, by extravagant tolls and other impediments, is nevertheless very considerable.

The subjects treated of in the fourth chapter, under the title of Natural Geography, not being of a variable nature, no great alterations are to be looked for in this part of the work. But Mr Pinkerton has overlooked one of the principal mineral productions, that of salt, which is calculated to bring into the state above 300,000l. yearly. The salt springs at Halle are said to be the most productive in the known world, and, on this account alone, deserved to have been particularly mentioned.

It would be tedious, as well as unnecessary, to bestow as much time upon the other states of Germany as has been done upon Prussia. No fairer specimen could have been selected, as no part of that book-making country is more fertile in sources of information upon the subjects which we have been examining; and without having to boast, like Mr Pinkerton, of 'communications from many diplomatic men, and men of science of all countries,' we have only applied to printed books, open to any one who would take the pains of looking at them. The few observations to which we must confine ourselves, in turning over the pages relative to Austria and the other parts of Germany, will be founded upon documents equally accessible to all.

After giving Boetticher's statement of the number of inhabitants on a square mile in the Austrian dominions, Mr Pinkerton adds, 'But since he wrote, the Netherlands, a populous region, *seem* to be withdrawn from the House of Austria.' (I. 360.) Has Mr Pinkerton, who pretends to give, in the same page, the stipulations of the treaty of Presburg, as far as they affect the House of Austria, not yet ascertained whether that House is actually mistress of the Netherlands or not?

Again, if Boetticher, or even Hoeck's work of 1801, are his latest authorities, all the estimates contained in his two first chapters upon historical and political geography, must now be nearly useless; for although, from subsequent treaties, he may furnish us with the names of many of the territories ceded or exchanged since that time, he cannot attempt to state either their population or revenue. We shall therefore pass over these

these pages, and only notice a whimsical circumstance which occurs in p. 362. Mention is there made of the 'map of Hungary by the *Artarian Society*' at Vienna. Having never had the advantage of hearing of this learned body, we were a good deal at a loss, till we discovered that Messrs Artaria & Co are map and print-sellers in Vienna; and concluded, that Mr Pinkerton, who, in another place, exults greatly, because, 'on the Continent, venders of maps are not styled geographers,' has here inadvertently erected a firm of them into a society.

Nothing can be more imperfect than his account of those parts of the German empire the situation of which has been altered by the late treaties. The changes are neither fully admitted into the text, nor yet entirely confined to the supplement: so that the whole presents a confused medley of the past and the present state of those countries, without giving us any accurate idea of either. Thus Manheim and Heidelberg, are mentioned amongst the towns belonging to the electorate of Bavaria; though Baden, to which they were ceded when that principality was raised to the electoral dignity, is mentioned as an electorate. In the account of Hanover, the bishopric of Hildesheim is said to be in the possession of its own bishop, though, at the conclusion of the same chapter, it is placed among those which have been secularized. In speaking of Saxony, the singularity of the people and the court having different religions, should not have been passed over. Under the title of Mecklenburg, we find a strange blunder. It is said to be 'divided into two parts, known by the additions of 'Schwerin and Gustro' (Güstrow). If this latter divison is to be mentioned at all, then Mecklenburg must be stated to consist of three, and not of two parts, viz. Schwerin, Güstrow and Strelitz. But the truth is, that only those of Schwerin and Strelitz are preserved, the dutchy of Mecklenburg Güstrow having fallen to the House of Schwerin, become incorporated with it, and lost its distinctive name. In like manner Wismar which was purchased from the King of Sweden, and now belongs to this branch of the House of Mecklenburg, is omitted in its proper place, and ranked among the King of Sweden's German possessions.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we shall notice Mr Pinkerton's inaccuracy in matters where still less exertion is necessary in order to be right. He is beyond all belief careless, even in copying over numbers; witness his abstract of the population tables of England and Wales (1. 23,) where the population of the West Riding (563,953) is set down for the population of all Yorkshire, instead of 858,892; the inhabitants of Herefordshire are stated at 81,191, instead of 89,191; those of Brecknockshire

nockshire at 33,633, instead of 31,633. In p. 55, also, the number of females is given at 4,433.490, instead of 4,343.409; and the total of the inhabitants at 9,343,178, instead of 9,343,578. Errors of no great importance in themselves, but indicative of unbecoming carelessness in one who freely confesses his superiority over all his fellow-labourers, and whose fame must rest on his close attention to many little things.

We are now to look at another department of the improvements which this republication presents, and are to see how the defects in the former edition have been supplied. This has evidently been accomplished in two ways. When the subject, before left out, could be found ready treated in an English book, a due portion of this book was just *printed into* Mr Pinkerton's volumes:—when the book did not happen to be in English, about as much pains was bestowed in extracting a sufficient quantity of the contents, and putting it into paragraphs, as might have enabled Mr Pinkerton to translate the requisite portion. The success with which each of these *most laborious efforts* of the *mind* has been accomplished, can only be estimated by a number of examples; and, first, let us attend to the method of reprinting, so happily practised by our author, and alluded to, we should imagine, in the words 'long, sedulous and painful researches.' (I. xx.)

The first edition was peculiarly deficient in its account of those new quarters of the world which Mr Pinkerton, after the President De Brosses, calls Australasia and Polynesia. Accordingly, in the present edition, a space of eighty pages is allotted to Australasia. After the short general description of New Holland, objected to as defective, our author finds, that, as the subject is very interesting, and as Mr Collins has treated it fully, 'the reader may not be displeased with his details,'—'more especially as they are very striking to the philosophical reader.' Whereupon, above thirty whole pages are printed over from the work of 'that intelligent writer;' and an apology is added, not for the extent of the excerpt, but for the length at which the subject has been treated. The reason it seems is, that, 'in the year 1900 or 2000, New Holland (or Notasia, as he will have us call it) may require a large volume of 'Geography from a learned and precise pen.' He then comes to New Guinea; and, after a little more extract, says, 'Here follows Valentyne's account of the birds of paradise;' accordingly it does follow,—and through more than eight pages. He now breaks off the excerpt to say, 'The same voyager gives the following account of the natives;' so his account of the natives follows. But Mr Walckenaer's notes to his French translation of the first edition, are 'excellent good:'

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He is likewise 'a man of property and information, far superior to the usual pretensions of translators,' (I. xvii): therefore he is made to club his share like other people Then Mr Collins is so intelligent and so recent, that he must not be left off for the thirty pages on Notasia. 'He gives the following account of discoveries in the south of Van Dieman's Land.' In fine, by the contributions of all these writers, Mr Pinkerton has inserted about fifty-five pages into the eighty, which 'just proportion and harmony of parts' has required him to set apart for Australasia.

Polynesia is treated of in 105 pages. In discoursing of the Pellew Islands, we have, first, a detail in Mr Pinkerton's own words (II. 665.); but that not being long enough, a long passage from Keate is inserted, comprehending, among others, the very points which Mr Pinkerton had gone over in the preceding pages. The voyage of Contova, in the *Histoire Generale*, 'retains its merit;' and the Carolines are therefore described by extracts from that collection. Mr Pinkerton's work has been blamed for not giving sufficient descriptions of manners; therefore, *seventy* pages are taken at once from the missionary voyage; so, about eighty pages, in 105, devoted to Polynesia, are fairly reprinted from those excellent authors.

Upon the head of the Asiatic Islands, we meet with more examples of the same method of 'writing.' After giving a short account of Sumatra, in his own language, our author remarks (II. 526), that Mr Marsden's large and interesting work enabled him to give those details; but 'that the account of the other islands must be more restricted.' Instead of this, the account of the two islands which follow, viz. Java and Borneo, is much more extensive; being reprinted from the voyages of Barrow, Valentyne, and Thunberg, with scarcely a paragraph of Mr Pinkerton's own.

North America and the West Indies, are treated of in the same manner. The State of Religion in the United States 'may prove extremely interesting to many readers;' and Dr Morse's account of it 'is very particular and instructive:' and 'because the sentiments of an American, on a subject of such delicacy, have a claim to superior attention,' therefore, twenty-six pages are taken from his book, including a good deal of what he has himself taken in the same way from other writers. Almost the whole of the article on Canada is copied over from Boulton and Weld. Then comes Halifax. But 'the late excellent Mr Pennant has given a capital sketch of arctic geography in general; and, as the work has become rare, the following extract may not be unacceptable.' (III. 312.) So Halifax is discussed, and makes

way for Newfoundland. But it is discovered again, that 'Mr Pennant, in his valuable work, entitled, Arctic Zoology, gives the following account of the fisheries.' (317) After one page devoted according to the pre-established 'harmony' to the Bermudas, we reach Greenland. Once more, 'a celebrated naturalist (Mr Pennant still) gives the following account of the animals.' (324) We get at last to Hudson's Bay; but we only go deeper into Mr Pennant; in praise of whose work the very same sentence above quoted is reprinted from our author's own words; and, because of the scarcity of the arctic zoology, the 'following extract may not be unacceptable.' (p. 331.)

The West Indies having been scantily treated of in the first edition, are now copiously described by Bryan Edwards and Dr Pinckard, and Mr Mackinnon. As a specimen of this, we may just observe, that after giving the meagre account of Jamaica, from the former edition, our author says, its brevity was complained of, and he 'will give some amplifications from Mr Edwards, in his own words,' for a reason not easily guessed,—'for the sake of greater authenticity.' So there follows an excerpt of thirty pages from Mr Edwards's well-known book; then fourteen pages on the Caribs; and twenty-three on the Caribbee Islands; besides various excerpts of different sizes from the travellers formerly alluded to, and Dr Anderson. And this is Mr Pinkerton's way of supplying the defects of his first edition, and of increasing its bulk above one half, by 'long, sedulous, and painful researches.'

Where the books which he wishes to incorporate are written in a foreign language, he has somewhat more work; but does not come off as well. The acquisitions from Spanish writers, with which he has enriched his account of America, are the parts he boasts chiefly of. Our limits do not permit us to follow him closely over this part of his additions; but we shall give a few specimens of his manner of reading Spanish books, for the purpose of showing how much care he has bestowed on his subject, and how safely his new edition may be trusted, as containing an accurate description of the Spanish colonies.

Vol. III. p. 160.—'The oidor, or chief judge, is an officer of great importance.' The oidor is not the chief judge, but one of the inferior or puisne judges. The chief judge is called *Regente*, or Regent of the Audience. *Viager Univ.* xxvi. 283.

Ibid.—'There are also several inferior tribunals, among which that of the acordada judges small causes without expense, and with great promptitude.' The acordada, instead of resembling the Small-debt court of Edinburgh, as Mr Pinkerton gives us to understand in this passage, is the most formidable criminal court in

in Mexico. The judge of the acordada, or, as he is otherwise called, the Captain of the Holy Brotherhood, has 8 or 10,000 men under him; and formerly there was no appeal from his sentence, even in capital cases; but, at present, they are reviewed by the viceroy and two or three oidors. The particular province of the acordada is to maintain order and tranquillity throughout the kingdom, and to punish robbery, murder, and other acts of violence. *Viag. Univ.* xxvi. 280.

P. 167.—'Assiguments on the Windward Islands.' It should be, 'Assignments (*i. e.* on the treasury of Mexico) for the use of the Windward Islands.' *Viag. Univ.* xxvii. 217.

P. 168.—'All which are under the management of the minister of state.' It should be, 'though the last is under,' &c. *Viag. Univ.* xxvii. 217.

Ibid.—'The whole of the passage, beginning 'The branch of tributes,' is nonsense, from ignorance of the Spanish.

P. 190.—'The College of St Mary of All Saints, is the only one of the first rank in the Spanish American possessions.' *Colegio Mayor*, is not, college of the first rank, but, college for young nobles.

P. 206.—'There being no money of bullion as in Spain.' This has evidently no meaning; and shows clearly, that Mr Pinkerton does not use his mind, but his hand, when he writes geography. All money is made of bullion: and all bullion ceases to be so called when it is coined into money. The original is, '*Moneda de Vellon.*'—'copper coin.'—Vellon never, by any chance whatever, means bullion.

P. 211.—Another example of Mr Pinkerton's haste, and want of thought when he writes. He tells us gravely, that 'the religious women of Vera Cruz are occupied in teaching *grammar* to the parrots of Alvarado.' The original is, 'Hay en esta cuidad unas beatas que ganan su vida ensenando à *hablar* a los loros,'—*i. e.* by teaching parrots to *speak*. Mr Pinkerton has probably seen *hablar* in the title-page of some spelling book, and supposed that it meant grammar.

P. 230.—The passage beginning 'The imposts,' is absolutely unintelligible from the mistranslation of *Viag. Univ.* xxvii. 209.

P. 267.—'They (the inhabitants of California) imagine, that after death, they are changed into owls, *which is not improbable!*'

P. 387.—'In 1792, the products of cotton were computed at six thousand arrobas, while that of *fruits* amounted to the surprising sum of 25,600,000 pecas; but under this article he includes coffee, chocolate,' &c. In this short sentence there are three blunders; 1. *Frutos*, in Spanish, does not mean fruits, but

produce or merchandize, in contradistinction to money. 2. The Spanish author does not say that the *frutos* of the island amounted to so much, but that the *frutos* imported and exported at the Havana amounted to that sum. 3. He does not speak of the island of Cuba at all, but of the Havana.—*Estala*, xx. 69. If Mr Pinkerton had only reflected that his statement makes the island of Cuba export above seven times more in fruits, than all Mexico does in every article of merchandize, he could scarcely have committed such a blunder.

P. 539.—'*Estanco de tabaco*,' is 'monopoly of tobacco.' Mr Pinkerton translates it 'deposite.'

P. 541.—'*Asesor letrado*,' is an assessor bred to the law. Mr Pinkerton makes it 'a learned assessor.'

P. 548.—'*Fiel executor*,' is 'clerk of the market' in the original. (*Estala*, xxvii 286.) Mr Pinkerton makes it 'sworn proveditor.'

P. 549.—'*Caidas de Caballos*,' means, 'falls from horses.' Mr Pinkerton pleasantly translates it 'heels of horses.'

P. 559.—'Para lo *contencioso* de este ramo forma el Xefe tribunal con un asesor que le da S. M. fiscal y notario.' (*Estala* xxvii. 292.) This Mr Pinkerton translates, 'In difficult cases he has an assessor, fiscal, and notary.' It ought to be, 'Exchequer suits are tried by a court consisting of the intendant and his assessor, who is named by the king, assisted by the fiscal and notary.'

P. 554.—'The inhabitants may be 600.' The original is 'ima seiscientos vecinos;' (*Est.* xx. 124.) *i. e.* 'the householders are about 600.' The same mistake repeatedly occurs in Mr Pinkerton's book; and in p. 631, (note), he corrects a supposed inconsistency of Estala, which is in reality a blunder of his own, arising from his mistake of *vecinos* for inhabitants.

P. 541.—'The assessor has a salary of 1000 dollars derived from lawsuits.' A false translation; it is 'from the municipal rents.' (*Est.* xxvii. 297.)

P. 556.—'Hides of beeves' The original is, 'cueros al pelo,' *i. e.* 'undressed hides.' (*Est* xx 109.)

Ibid.—'Coarse soap.' The original is, 'Sebo desselido,' *i. e.* 'melted tallow.'

P. 570.—'To expedite the work of the miners.' The original is, 'para habilitar los trabajos de minas,' (*Est.* xxvii. 302.); *i. e.* 'to make advances to the miners to enable them to undertake and carry on their work;' *habilitar* is the technical phrase for such advances; and answers to the phrase, 'to mount,' used in our manufacturing towns. But a very remote approximation to the meaning of the original always satisfies Mr Pinkerton; and he is seldom so lucky in his guessing as in the present instance.

Ibid.

Ibid.—'Eleven and a half *per cent.* are then deducted *for the dues* of the bank.' It should be 'the duties of eleven and a half *per cent.* (payable to the crown) are taken from the gold and silver delivered into the bank.' (*Est.* xxvii. 303.)

P. 587.—'Causes *judged in two* by the oidors.' The original is, 'Se exercita en dos por los oidores el de los juicios civiles,' (*Est.* xx. 105); *i. e.* 'in two of the chambers civil causes are tried by the oidors.'

P. 596.—'The addition of 22 *per cent.* is on account of the price of silver at Cadiz' How the price of silver at Cadiz should justify a political arithmetician in adding 22 *per cent.* to the value of goods exported from that city, we could not easily imagine; we therefore naturally supposed, that Mr Pinkerton, with his accustomed want of thinking, had rested satisfied with the first guess at the sense of his original; upon turning to which, we accordingly found 22 *per cent.* added 'to the *official* value of goods exported,—'para equalarlos *al precio de plaza* en Cadiz,' (*Est.* xx. 222.); *i. e.* 'to bring the official value to the *market* price at Cadiz.' If it is requiring too much knowledge of Spanish in Mr Pinkerton, to expect that he should have distinguished *plaza*, a market, from *plata*, silver, at least we may trust that a builder of geographical systems so 'noble, scientific and luminous,' (I. xxii.) should not set down reasons like the above, which are absolute nonsense, and to which he could have attached no one idea when he put them in words. It would certainly be too romantic to suppose that he should have known that silver is not dearer in Cadiz than elsewhere, but rather cheaper. *

It is quite unnecessary to multiply further the examples of this nature with which every part of this work abounds, and especially the additions made to the present republication. We have said enough, to show how far the opinion we have already given is well founded, that, with all its pretensions, the new portion of the book is a most hasty and slovenly performance; eked out, by more than the excess of the ordinary book-makers' arts; and compiled with so little care or knowledge (where it is not mere transcript of noted works,) as to render it at once a most unsafe and most cumbrous guide.

In a work of this description, style is no doubt a secondary consideration; yet must we say a single word upon it, both because Mr Pinkerton's pretensions are as high in this as in any other particular, and because we have to vindicate ourselves from all

* A parallel instance of thoughtlessness occurs in speaking of the Swedish finances; 'Sweden owes ten millions to Hamburg, it seems, and *therefore* is filled with the paper money of that city!'

all share in the following heavy charge which he brings against the literary journals of this country. 'Their eulogy of the style' (says he, speaking of the notice taken of his first edition) 'does credit to their own judgment.' The reason is certainly unexpected. 'As in the opinions of *foreigners* eminently versed in the English language, such is the purity of the grammar and expression, that they were as seldom obliged to refer to a dictionary as in any other production whatever of the English language; and the voice of foreigners must in this respect be regarded as an infallible test.' Those who dispute the perfections of his style after this, are likened 'to the Scotch schoolmaster in Smollet, who came to London to teach the pronunciation of the English language,' which, to be sure, is not quite so whimsical as making a French critic's taste the Standard of English style. Now, for our own parts, as we are called upon to choose, we have no hesitation in siding with the Scotch schoolmaster, rather than the French critics, being verily persuaded that the discovery of a worse style than Mr Pinkerton's is reserved for some distant age. The specimens which we have been obliged incidentally to give of this 'pure and perfect' manner of writing, are sufficient to make the reader acquainted with its merits. But Mr Pinkerton will have 'numerous examples of bad style' from all who presume to censure him. (I. xxiv.) So we must comply, and briefly indicate some passages of peculiar note.

'The first *visitation* of Greenland' (III. 3.) 'The love of glory like the vast mechanical force of steam, *another vapour.*' (*Ibid* 86.) 'Even their authors cannot advance in the direct road to the temple of fame, but stray into thickets and devious paths of quaint expression, where they often lose their health and reputation. They also often die of bombast and obscurity.' (III. 181.) We venture to doubt the accuracy of this last assertion. 'The lake of Titica now *ascribed* to the viceroyalty of La Plata' (*Ibid.* 504.) 'The *conjunct flood.*' (513.) 'Barbaric civilization.' (586.) 'The soil displays a great variety of barrenness.' (267.) 'The brilliant plumes of the royal goose do not save it from destruction.' (608.) 'Conspiracy *timeously* discovered.' (647.) 'Numerous are our edible sea-fish.' (I. 133.) 'Dependant on the secretaries of state is the state paper office at Whitehall.' (*Ibid.* 50.) The pastoral effect of the following description is striking. 'The cows seem to have been originally from Holstein, and the utmost attention was paid to warmth and cleanliness, so that, even in summer, the animals appeared in the meadows clothed with ludicrous care.' (I. 511.) The sublime is cultivated in the following high wrought passage. 'The Moskoestroem,

Moskoestroem, or Malstroem, is a remarkable whirlpool off the shore of Norland,* which will involve boats, and even ships; nay, the bellowing struggles of the whale have not always redeemed him from the danger.' (I. 549.) The following sketch of the domestic occupations of a venerable patriarch, well known to every critic, is rapid, but masterly. 'Mistakes multiply, and an old *hallucination* becomes the father of a numerous progeny.' (I. xii.)—'This edition has gained in perfection what it lost in delay.' (xvi.) With many other instances of one thing being said for the sake of sound, while a perfectly different thing is meant.

Such are a very few of the specimens which every page of these volumes furnishes, to make us dissent from 'those foreigners eminently versed in the English language,' who rate so high our author's 'purity of grammar and expression.' Something more than a journey to Paris, and an unshaken faith in his own perfections, is requisite to make Mr Pinkerton worthy of half the praises he lavishes upon his book, and its style. In truth it was long ago observed by a shrewd judge, that good sense is the source of good writing; and with that our author does not appear to be 'considerably imbued.'

Art. XII. *An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie, L.L.D. late Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen: Including many of his original Letters.* By Sir W. Forbes of Pitsligo, Baronet, one of the Executors of Dr Beattie. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 840 Edinburgh and London. 1806.

We cannot transcribe this title without some feelings of sadness, which we think will be participated by most of our readers. Nothing can be more melancholy than the closing scene of Dr Beattie's life; and his amiable biographer had scarcely given to the world this account of the sufferings and virtues of his friend, when he, too, was called away from this scene of separations, and left society to lament a loss at least as irreparable. The author of the Minstrel will of course be further known, and longer remembered; but the moral fame of his friend will not be circumscribed, either by a narrow sphere, or a short duration. Over all this country, at least, his exemplary probity, and unwearied

* It is off the shore of *Norway.* Norland, *in prose,* is a province situated, not on the North Sea, but on the Gulph of Bothnia.

XUM

wearied beneficence, will not soon be forgotten; and if this were the proper place for such a record, it would be easy for us to collect from facts, which are both recent and notorious, the materials of an eulogium, for which poets and philosophers would be gainers by exchanging their laurels.

It is not, however, with the personal merits, either of the author or the biographer, that we are now concerned, but with the writings which they have given to the public; and of these, we are sorry to say, that our judgment is by no means so favourable. For what Sir William Forbes has written in these volumes, we can easily forgive him; but he cannot escape censure for much of what he has published. In his own person he has said little; and that little he has delivered with so much apparent candour, such a natural partiality, and such a total absence of all sort of offensive pretension, as would disarm a more ungentle criticism than any which we profess to exercise:—but he has filled two quarto volumes with the correspondence of his friend; and protesting, as we have always done, against the multiplication of needless quartos, and the publication of ordinary epistles, we cannot avoid saying, that his book is a great deal larger, and a great deal duller, than we are bound to tolerate.

The life of Dr Beattie is a tale that is soon told; and could excite, perhaps, no great interest in the telling. His letters, again, which occupy at least nine tenths of the work, can scarcely be considered as letters at all. With the exception of those very dull ones which relate to the business in which he was immediately engaged,—the printing of his books, and the advancement of his fortune,—they appear to us to be mere bits of dissertation, and fragments of criticism; and might almost be mistaken for college exercises, or portions of lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres. In this point of view they certainly are not altogether without merit; for they are often neat, lively, and ingenious; but they are totally destitute of the familiarity, simplicity, and confidential directness of a private correspondence; and, at the same time are too trifling, superficial, and unconnected, to be of any value, when considered as miscellaneous speculations. In short, they contain no anecdotes or sallies of wit,—no traits of character,—and no play of natural humour, or fancy, to recommend them as letters; and it is needless to say, that there can be no duller, or more unprofitable reading, than two thick quartos of slight criticism and broken dissertation. There are other faults in the letters, too, which would have gained concealment from a more impartial editor. There is a good deal of paltry conceit and animosity towards his literary opponents, and something too like adulation towards bishops and pious noblemen, and old ladies of rank and fortune.

Though

Though we have thus discharged our conscience, by saying all the ill we think of this publication, we do not despair of being able to interest our readers by a pretty full account of its contents. The life and opinions of Dr Beattie, though they cannot vivify two vast quartos, may still serve to animate a few of our humbler octavos, and are really worth all the time we shall require our readers to bestow upon them. We shall endeavour, therefore, to make a short abstract of the biography, and then to give some specimens of the letters which fill these volumes; subjoining, if we can find room, a few observations on the general merits and character of Dr Beattie's productions.

This eminent scholar was born in Kincardineshire in 1735. His father kept a small shop in the village of Laurencekirk, and rented a small farm in the neighbourhood. He was the youngest of six children; and, after acquiring some Latin at the parish school, was sent to the university of Aberdeen in 1749. Here his expenses were in part defrayed by a bursary or exhibition, to which he was preferred upon public trial by the masters, and remained four years studying philosophy and divinity, with a view to the Scottish church. When his course of study was finished, however, no appointment of this kind was in prospect for him; and he was glad to accept of the office of schoolmaster and parish clerk in the parish of Fordoun in 1753, where he continued for four solitary years, extremely poor, and utterly unheard of in the world, though he had begun to write verses, and had been personally introduced to two of our Scottish Judges, who resided occasionally in his neighbourhood. In 1758, he was appointed one of the ushers to the grammar school of Aberdeen, and began to obtain some distinction among the men of letters who composed that university. In 1760, he was appointed professor of philosophy, and continued to discharge the duties of that situation till within a short time of his death. Aberdeen had at this time to boast of Dr Campbell, Dr Reid, Dr Gerard, and Dr Gregory, among its professors: and the benefits which their new associate must have derived from their society, were rendered still more invaluable, by the harmony in which they all lived with each other, and the openness and familiarity with which they communicated their sentiments. In a kind of literary club, which met twice a month, they discussed freely all the topics of literature and philosophy that occurred to any of them; and it was in this society that all those speculations took their rise, which have since made their names so familiar to all who read for instruction. In 1760, he published a small collection of poems, the greater part of which were left out of the subsequent editions; and, in 1763, made his first visit to London, where he

he does not seem to have had any acquaintance, except with his bookseller, and some nameless Caledonians from his own district. In 1765, he formed an acquaintance with the poet Gray, who was at that time on a visit to the Earl of Strathmore, and became his dear friend and admirer for the short period of his after life. In 1767, he married, and appears to have begun his Minstrel, and his Essay on Truth. On the subject of the latter, there is an immense deal of epistolary dissertation between Dr Beattie and his literary friends; and certainly there never was a work on which so much preparation and getting up were expended. It made its appearance in 1770; and as it had been diligently extolled and anticipated by all the orthodox enemies of scepticism, it speedily acquired a greater reputation than any metaphysical work had attained, since the days at least of Bishop Berkeley. It took amazingly with the bishops and masters of academies throughout England; and prepared for the author a most gracious reception among all who had conceived a dread and detestation of the Scottish philosophy. In 1771, he published the first canto of the Minstrel, which rose also into a rapid and less unaccountable popularity. There is something ingenious, we think, though rather scholastic, in his own remarks upon this poem, which we extract from a letter to Lady Forbes in 1772.

'Again, your Ladyship must have observed, that some sentiments are common to all men; others peculiar to persons of a certain character. Of the former sort, are those which Gray has so elegantly expressed in his 'Church-yard Elegy;' a poem which is universally understood and admired, not only for its poetical beauties, but also and perhaps chiefly, for its expressing sentiments in which every man thinks himself interested, and which, at certain times, are familiar to all men. Now the sentiments expressed in the "Minstrel," being not common to all men, but peculiar to persons of a certain cast, cannot possibly be interesting, because the generality of readers will not understand, nor feel them so thoroughly, as to think them natural. That a boy should take pleasure in darkness or a storm—in the noise of thunder, or the glare of lightning; should be more gratified with listening to music at a distance, than with mixing in the merriment occasioned by it; should like better to see every bird and beast happy and free, than to exert his ingenuity in destroying or ensnaring them—these, and such like sentiments, which, I think, would be natural to persons of a certain cast, will, I know, be condemned as unnatural by others, who have never felt them in themselves, nor observed them in the generality of mankind. Of all this I was sufficiently aware before I published the "Minstrel," and, therefore, never expected that it would be a popular poem.' I. 205, 206.

What follows, however, as it partakes of anecdote, will probably be more interesting to most readers.

'I find you are willing to suppose, that, in Edwin, I have given only

only a picture of myself as I was in my younger days. I confess the supposition is not groundless. I have made him take pleasure in the scenes in which I took pleasure, and entertain sentiments similar to those, of which, even in my early youth, I had repeated experience. The scenery of a mountainous country, the ocean, the sky, thoughtfulness and retirement, and sometimes melancholy objects and ideas, had charms in my eyes, even when I was a schoolboy; and at a time when I was so far from being able to express, that I did not understand my own feelings, or perceive the tendency of such pursuits and amusements; and as to poetry and music, before I was ten years old I could play a little on the violin, and was as much master of Homer and Virgil, as Pope's and Dryden's translations could make me.' I. 207.

Dr Beattie, it seems, had bestowed such intense labour in the composition of his Essay, that his health was impaired by the exertion; and he now found it necessary to take a journey to the South, with a view to repair his exhausted spirits. He paid a second visit to London, accordingly in summer 1771; and having been introduced by his friend Dr Gregory to the particular notice of Mrs Montagu, immediately made his way to all the distinguished literary society which the metropolis could then afford. As he was sufficiently learned, and free from most of the prejudices for which Scotchmen are usually disliked by the scholars of the South, he proved very generally acceptable in the circles to which he was introduced; and was received into distinguished favour by all the pious churchmen and orthodox nobility, who had been taught to shudder at infidels and sceptics. These honourable connexions he took care to retain, by an assiduous and complimentary correspondence; and having reason to think, that through their interest, some considerable addition might be obtained to his fortune, he returned again to London in 1773, with a view to solicit a pension, or some sinecure place under government. Here he lived fine with bishops and dutchesses for several months; had his picture painted in allegorical triumph by Sir Joshua Reynolds; was admitted an honorary Doctor of Laws at Oxford; and obtained the King's warrant for a pension of 200l. a year. He had also the honour of a private interview with their majesties, of which he has left a long and most minute account in his Diary. As few are permitted to look so near upon royalty, it may be amusing to some of our readers to see a part of this record.

'At twelve, the Doctor and I went to the King's house, at Kew. We had been only a few minutes in the hall, when the King and Queen came in from an airing; and as they passed through the hall, the King called to me by name, and asked how long it was since I came from town. I answered, about an hour. "I shall see you," says he, "in a little." The Doctor and I waited a considerable time (for the King was busy), and then we were called into a large room, furnished as a library, where the King was walking about, and the

the Queen sitting in a chair. We were received in the most gracious manner possible, by both their Majesties. I had the honour of a conversation with them (no body else being present but Dr Majendie) for upwards of an hour, on a great variety of topics, in which both the King and Queen joined, with a degree of cheerfulness, affability and ease, that was to me surprising, and soon dissipated the embarrassment which I felt at the beginning of the conference. They both complimented me, in the highest terms, on my "Essay," which, they said, was a book they always kept by them; and the King said he had one copy of it at Kew, and another in town, and immediately went and took it down from a shelf. I found it was the second edition. "I never stole a book but one," said his Majesty, "and that was yours (speaking to me); I stole it from the Queen, to give it to Lord Hertford to read." He had heard that the sale of "Hume's Essays" had failed since my book was published; and I told him what Mr Strahan had told me in regard to that matter. He had even heard of my being in Edinburgh last summer, and how Mr Hume was offended on the score of my book. He asked many questions about the second part of the "Essay," and when it would be ready for the press. I gave him, in a short speech, an account of the plan of it; and said, my health was so precarious, I could not tell when it might be ready, as I had many books to consult before I could finish it; but that if my health was good, I thought I might bring it to a conclusion in two or three years. He asked, how long I had been in composing my "Essay?" praised the caution with which it was written; and said, he did not wonder that it had employed me five or six years. He asked about my poems. I said, there was only one poem of my own, on which I set any value (meaning the "Minstrel"), and that it was first published about the same time with the "Essay." My other poems, I said, were incorrect, being but juvenile pieces, and of little consequence, even in my own opinion. We had much conversation on moral subjects; from which both their Majesties let it appear, that they were warm friends to Christianity; and so little inclined to infidelity, that they could hardly believe that any thinking man could really be an atheist, unless he could bring himself to believe that he made himself; a thought which pleased the King exceedingly; and he repeated it several times to the Queen. He asked, whether any thing had been written against me. I spoke of the late pamphlet, of which I gave an account, telling him, that I never had met with any man who had read it, except one Quaker. This brought on some discourse about the Quakers, whose moderation, and mild behaviour, the King and Queen commended. I was asked many questions about the Scots universities, the revenues of the Scots clergy, their mode of praying and preaching; the medical college of Edinburgh, Dr Gregory (of whom I gave a particular character), and Dr Cullen; the length of our vacation at Aberdeen, and the closeness of our attendance during the winter; the number of students that attend my lectures, my mode

mode of lecturing, whether from notes, or completely written lectures; about Mr Hume, and Dr Robertson, and Lord Kinnoul, and the Archbishop of York, &c. &c. &c. His Majesty asked what I thought of my new acquaintance, Lord Dartmouth? I said, there was something in his air and manner, which I thought not only agreeable, but enchanting, and that he seemed to me to be one of the best of men; a sentiment in which both their Majesties heartily joined. "They say that Lord Dartmouth is an enthusiast," said the King; "but surely he says nothing on the subject of religion, but what every Christian may, and ought to say." He asked, whether I did not think the English language on the decline at present? I answered in the affirmative; and the King agreed, and named the "Spectator" as one of the best standards of the language. When I told him that the Scots clergy sometimes prayed a quarter, or even half an hour, at a time, he asked whether that did not lead them into repetitions? I said, it often did. "That," said he, "I don't like in prayers; and, excellent as our liturgy is, I think it somewhat faulty in that respect." I. 268—271.

While honours and emoluments were thus accumulating around him, it is rather amusing to notice the tone in which the worthy Doctor speaks of the persecutions and sufferings he has to undergo from the malice of his enemies. Some of Mr Hume's admirers had spoken contemptuously of his metaphysics; and others had found fault with the needless acrimony and invective with which he had enlivened his argument. This, we think, is the full extent of the calamities which his zeal in the good cause had brought upon him; and yet he speaks as if no martyr of old had ever encountered more dreadful injuries; and spirits himself up to endure them, with an air of magnanimity which is really ludicrous.

'I have always foreseen,' says he, 'and still foresee, that I shall have many reproaches, and cavils, and sneers, to encounter; but I am prepared to meet them. I am not ashamed of my cause,' &c.

And in another place—

'What I have avowed, I am still ready to avow in the face of any man on earth, or any number of men; and I shall never cease to avow, so long as the Deity is pleased,' &c.—'As to obloquy, I have had a share of it as large as any private man I know; and I think I have borne it, and can bear it, with a degree of fortitude of which I need not be ashamed.'

In the end of the year 1773, there was a proposal for transferring Dr Beattie to the University of Edinburgh, which he declined, chiefly from the dread of his infidel enemies, whose head quarters, he seems to have supposed, were established in that devoted city, and from whose machinations he really seems to have imagined that he would not have been perfectly in safety. There

are about thirty pages of anxious elaborate correspondence on this subject, which illustrate, more than any thing we have lately met with, the importance of a man to himself, and the strange fancies that will sometimes be engendered between self-love and literary animosity. With no better grounds of apprehension than we have already mentioned, Dr Beattie writes—

'Even if my fortune were as narrow, &c. I would still incline to remain in quiet where I am, rather than, by becoming a member of the University of Edinburgh, *place myself within the reach* of those who have been pleased to let the world know that they do not wish me well;—not that I have any reason to mind their enmity,' &c. 'My cause is so good, that he who espouses it can never have occasion to be afraid of any man.'

If he had actually been in danger of poison or stilettos, he could not have used other language. He proceeds afterwards.

'As they are singular enough to hate me for having done my duty, and for what I trust (with God's help) I shall never cease to do, (I mean for endeavouring to vindicate the cause of truth, with that zeal which so important a cause requires), I could never hope that they would live with me on those agreeable terms on which I desire to live with all good men,' &c.

And in another epistolary dissertation on the same subject, he adds, with some reference to the Members of the Edinburgh University, which we are persuaded was without foundation—

'I should dislike very much to live in a society with crafty persons, who would think it for their interest to give me as much trouble as possible; unless I had reason to think that they had conscience and honour sufficient to restrain them from aspersing the innocent.'

These are among the things which a more judicious partiality would have led an editor to suppress, but which are of use to the reader, as they enable him both to estimate and to balance the unqualified praises which it is in the nature of that character to bestow.

In a short time after this, however, Dr Beattie declined another offer, upon principles which do him more honour than those assigned for his refusal to come to Edinburgh. Several hints had been given him of the advantage he might expect from taking orders in the church of England; and in 1774 an offer was made him of a small living in Dorsetshire, with the prospect of speedy promotion. This benefice was only worth 160*l.*; and it is not to be wondered at that the offer was rejected. In the same year, however, Dr Porteus intimated to him, that one of the Episcopal Bench had a living worth 500*l.* at his service, which should be kept vacant till he made up his mind. This offer, also, with all the prospects of further preferment which it implied, Dr Beattie resolved to decline; and as the motives which he

he has assigned for his refusal, though somewhat tinctured with vanity and timidity, are upon the whole extremely creditable to his character, we think it but justice to lay the greater part of them before our readers, in his own words. After quite as much gratitude and compliment as the occasion required, he goes on to say.

'I wrote the "Essay on Truth," with the certain prospect of raising many enemies, with very faint hopes of attracting the public attention, and without any views of advancing my fortune. I published it, however, because I thought it might probably do a little good, by bringing to nought, or at least lessening the reputation of, that wretched system of sceptical philosophy, which had made a most alarming progress, and done incredible mischief to this country. My enemies have been at great pains to represent my views, in that publication, as very different; and that my principal, or only motive was, to make a book, and, if possible, to raise myself higher in the world. So that, if I were now to accept preferment in the church, I should be apprehensive that I might strengthen the hands of the gainsayer, and give the world some ground to believe, that my love of truth was not quite so ardent, or so pure, as I had pretended.

'Besides, might it not have the appearance of levity and insincerity, and, by some, be construed into a want of principle, if I were, at these years (for I am now thirty-eight), to make such an important change in my way of life, and to quit, with no other *apparent* motive than that of bettering my circumstances, that church of which I have hitherto been a member? If my book has any tendency to do good, as I flatter myself it has, I would not, for the wealth of the Indies, do any thing to counteract that tendency; and I am afraid that tendency might in some measure be counteracted, (at least in this country), if I were to give the adversary the least ground to charge me with inconsistency It is true, that the force of my reasonings cannot be *really* affected by my character: truth is truth, whoever be the speaker; but even truth itself becomes less respectable, when spoken, or supposed to be spoken, by insincere lips.

'It has also been hinted to me, by several persons of very sound judgment, that what I have written, or may hereafter write, in favour of religion, has a chance of being more attended to, if I continue a layman, than if I were to become a clergyman. Nor am I without apprehensions (though some of my friends think them ill-founded), that from entering so late in life, and from so remote a province, into the Church of England, some degree of ungratefulness, particularly in pronunciation, might adhere to my performances in public, sufficient to render them less pleasing, and consequently less useful.' I. 360--362.

In 1774 he had the honour to be attacked by Dr Priestley, along with Dr Reid; and no doubt consulted his own ease, as well as most effectually disappointed that restless controversialist, by making no answer to his attack. We cannot approve, how-

ever, of the style of orthodox contempt and asperity, with which he is pleased to speak of a man, at least his equal in point of sincerity and good intention, and unquestionably his superior in science.

'All my friends here,' he says, 'have been urging me not to answer him; and have told me, what I know is true, that his work cannot possibly do me any harm; that it has been little read, and will soon be forgotten; and that he is a man of that sort, that it is even creditable (on moral and religious subjects at least) to have him for an adversary.'

After this, there is but very little incident of any sort in Dr Beattie's life. He published one volume of Essays in 1776, and another in 1783; a little treatise on the evidences of Christianity in 1786; and the outlines of his academical lectures in 1790. He was very unfortunate in his family. His wife became the victim of the most dreadful of all distempers, hereditary insanity; and his two sons, who were all his children, died successively after they had attained the age of manhood. The eldest, to whom he was extremely partial, had been conjoined with him in his professorship; and he never effectually recovered the shock which his spirits sustained from this disaster. Even before this, however, the situation of his wife, and his own precarious state of health, had sunk him into an habitual depression, which he strove to dissipate by frequent excursions in the country, and visits to those friends by whom he was regarded with the greatest partiality. A good part of the second volume is filled with the history of these journeyings, and of the feelings which they were intended to relieve. To Sir William Forbes he writes—

'The smallness of my house, and the delicacy of Mrs B.'s nerves, which cannot bear the least noise, will not allow me to have any company with me; and the consequence is, that there are only two houses in the town to which I am ever invited. In fact, I have not dined abroad more than twice these three months. Now that I am able to go to the college again, my business there gives me some amusement through the day; but all the long evening I sit alone, trying sometimes to read and sometimes to write, except now and then when I give my son a lesson in Virgil. This must in the end have very bad effects upon my health and spirits; and, therefore, it is no wonder that I long to be from home, and to sojourn for some little time in a land of friendship, tranquillity, and cheerfulness.' II. 68.

In the course of these peregrinations, he paid a visit to his friend Dr Porteus, then Bishop of Chester, at his residence of Hunton in Kent, and has so well described both the situation, and the decorous establishment of the family, that we think it will be gratifying to most readers to peruse his account of them.

'The house is delightfully situated about half way down a hill fronting

ing the south, about a mile from Coxheath. My windows command a prospect, extending southward about twelve miles, and from east to west not less, I suppose, than forty. In this whole space I do not see a single speck of ground that is not in the highest degree cultivated; for Coxheath is not in sight. The lawns in the neighbourhood, the hop-grounds, the rich verdure of the trees, and their endless variety, form a scenery so picturesque and so luxuriant, that it is not easy to fancy any thing finer. Add to this the cottages, churches, and villages, rising here and there among the trees, and scattered over the whole country; clumps of oaks, and other lofty trees, disposed in ten thousand different forms, and some of them visible in the horizon at the distance of more than ten miles; and you will have some idea of the beauty of Hunton. The only thing wanting is the murmur of running water; but we have some ponds and clear pools that glitter through the trees, and have a very pleasing effect. With abundance of shade, we have no damp nor fenny ground: and though the country looks at a distance like one continued grove, the trees do not press upon us; indeed, I do not at present see one that I could wish removed. There is no road within sight, the hedges that overhang the highways being very high; so that we see neither travellers nor carriages, and indeed hardly any thing in motion; which conveys such an idea of peace and quiet, as I think I never was conscious of before; and forms a most striking contrast with the endless noise and restless multitudes of Piccadilly.' II. 142.

'Our hour of breakfast is ten. Immediately before it, the bishop calls his family together, prays with them, and gives them his blessing: the same thing is constantly done after supper, when we part for the night. In the intervals of breakfast, and in the evening, when there is no company, his lordship sometimes reads to us in some entertaining book. After breakfast we separate, and amuse ourselves, as we think proper, till four, the hour of dinner. At six, when the weather is fair, we either walk, or make a visit to some of the clergy or gentry in the neighbourhood, and return about eight. We then have music, in which I am sorry to say, that I am almost the only performer. I have got a violoncello, and play Scotch tunes; and perform Handel's, Jackson's, and other songs, as well as I can; and my audience is very willing to be pleased. The bishop and Mrs Porteus are both fond of music. These musical parties are often honoured with the company of the accomplished and amiable Lady Twisden, of whom I gave you some account in my last.'

'So much for our week days. On Sundays, at eleven, we repair to church. It is a small but neat building, with a pretty good ring of six bells. The congregation are a stout, well-featured set of people, clean and neat in their dress, and most exemplary in the decorum with which they perform the several parts of public worship. As we walk up the area to the bishop's pew, they all make on each side a profound obeisance; and the same as we return. The prayers are very well read by Mr Hill the curate, and the bishop preaches. I need not tell you now,

because I think I told you before, that Bishop Porteus is, in my opinion, the best preacher, in respect both of composition and of delivery, I have ever heard. In this capacity, indeed, he is universally admired, and many of the gentry come to hear him from the neighbouring parishes. After evening service, during the summer months, his lordship generally delivers from his pew a catechetical lecture, addressed to the children, who for this purpose are drawn up in a line before him along the area of the church. In these lectures, he explains to them, in the simplest and clearest manner, yet with his usual elegance, the fundamental and essential principles of religion and morality; and concludes with an address to the more advanced in years. This institution of the bishop's I greatly admire.' II. 145—148.

Such society, and such occupations, must unquestionably have been medicinal to a mind wounded as Dr Beattie's now was; but after the death of his favourite son, even those remedies were unable to sooth him. He went to London indeed afterwards; but was unable to interest himself in any thing but devotional exercises He talks a good deal about his distresses in these letters; but his style is so correct and apparently elaborate, that he says little that is interesting. Almost the only passage that struck us was, where he mentions that his ill health prevented him from attending Handel's commemoration; and adds, in allusion to his son's musical performances—'But perhaps this was no loss to me. Even the organ of Durham was too much for my feelings. It brought too powerfully to my remembrance another organ, much smaller indeed, but more interesting, which I can never hear any more.' He bore up, however, tolerably well, till the sudden death of his only remaining child in 1796. He has given a plain and very affecting account of this calamity, and the effect it produced upon him, in a letter to Dr Laing.

'His delirium, which was extremely violent, ended in a state of such apparent tranquillity, that I was congratulating myself on the danger being over, at the very time when Dr ***** came, and told me, in his own name, and in that of the other two physicians that attended Montagu, that he could not live many hours: this was at eleven at night, and he died at five next morning. I hope I am resigned, as my duty requires, and as I wish to be; but I have passed many a bitter hour, though on those occasions nobody sees me. I fear my reason is a little disordered; for I have sometimes thought of late, especially in a morning, that Montagu is not dead, though I seem to have a remembrance of a dream that he is. This you will say, what I myself believe, is a symptom not uncommon in cases similar to mine, and that I ought by all means to go from home as soon as I can. I will do so when the weather becomes tolerable. Inclination would draw me to Peterhead; but the intolerable road forbids it, and I believe I must go southward, where the roads are very good: at least I hear so.

'Being

'Being now childless by the will of Providence, (in which I trust I acquiesce), I have made a new settlement in my small affairs; the only particular of which that needs to be mentioned at present is, that the organ, built by my eldest son and you, is now yours.

'I am much obliged to the kind friends who sympathize with me. Montagu was indeed very popular wherever he went. His death was calm, resigned, and unaffectedly pious; he thought himself dying from the first attack of his illness. "I could wish," said he, "to live to be old; but am neither afraid nor unwilling to die." II. 310, 311.

Sir William Forbes has likewise described the effects of this calamity, in a manner which does honour to his feelings.

'The death of his only surviving child, completely unhinged the mind of Dr Beattie, the first symptom of which, ere many days had elapsed, was a temporary but almost total loss of memory respecting his son. Many times he could not recollect what had become of him; and after searching in every room of the house, he would say to his niece, Mrs Glennie, "You may think it strange, but I must ask you if I have a son, and where he is?" She then felt herself under the painful necessity of bringing to his recollection his son Montagu's sufferings, which always restored him to reason. And he would often, with many tears, express his thankfulness, that he had no child, saying, "How could I have borne to see their elegant minds mangled with madness!" When he looked for the last time on the dead body of his son, he said, "I have now done with the world:" and he ever after seemed to act as if he thought so. For he never applied himself to any sort of study, and answered but few of the letters he received from the friends whom he most valued. Yet the receiving a letter from an old friend never failed to put him in spirits for the rest of the day. Music, which had been his great delight, he could not endure, after the death of his eldest son, to hear from others; and he disliked his own favourite violoncello. A few months before Montagu's death, he did begin to play a little by way of accompaniment when Montagu sung: but after he lost him, when he was prevailed on to touch the violoncello, he was always discontented with his own performance, and at last seemed to be unhappy when he heard it. The only enjoyment he seemed to have was in books, and the society of a very few old friends. It is impossible to read the melancholy picture which he draws of his own situation about this time, without dropping a tear of pity over the sorrows and the sufferings of so good a man thus severely visited by affliction.' II. 307, 308.

It is scarcely necessary to pursue this melancholy narrative any further. His spirits were never restored, and his health continued gradually to decline, till, in 1799, he was struck with palsy, which affected his speech and memory; and, after being reduced to a state of permanent insensibility, by repeated attacks of the same disease, at last expired in June 1803.

We should now proceed to lay before our readers some specimens of those epistolary compositions, which fill the greater part

of the volumes. They are almost all, as we have already intimated, of the nature of dissertations; and most of them dissertations on trite subjects. The critical remarks, we think, are not in general worth extracting: they are for the most part safe, sound, and common opinions of common authors. Virgil, Lucretius, Tasso, Ariosto, Fenelon, Ossian, Metastasio, Rousseau, Richardson, Armstrong, Young, and a dozen more as to whom the public opinion has fluctuated as little, are characterized and decided on with as much minuteness and solemnity of method, as if their names had never been heard of in literature; and, from all that we can perceive, Dr Beattie is just of the common way of thinking on those subjects, and writes sometimes prettily, and sometimes tediously, in exposition of it. At all events, what he writes bears no sort of resemblance to familiar letters; and he very seldom submits even to counterfeit that style by any sentences of easy introduction. One epistle begins, 'I promised to give you my opinion of the Henriade.' Another, 'I have just been reading Tasso.' And a third, 'I betook myself lately to the reading of Cæsar;'—which striking and appropriate introductions are followed by long disquisitions on the peculiar merit of those respective performances, very much in the manner and spirit of what we must infallibly meet with from any given lecturer on rhetoric. We scarcely think our readers would thank us for retailing any of this criticism. It will be more in favour of Dr Beattie, that they should peruse the following disquisition on public and private education;—a topic which, trite as it is, is judiciously treated, we think, in the following epistle.

'Could mankind lead their lives in that solitude which is so favourable to many of our most virtuous affections, I should be clearly on the side of a private education. But most of us, when we go out into the world, find difficulties in our way, which good principles and innocence alone will not qualify us to encounter; we must have some address and knowledge of the world different from what is to be learned in books, or we shall soon be puzzled, disheartened, or disgusted. The foundation of this knowledge is laid in the intercourse of schoolboys, or at least of young men of the same age. When a boy is always under the direction of a parent or tutor, he acquires such a habit of looking up to them for advice, that he never learns to think or act for himself; his memory is exercised, indeed, in retaining their advice, but his invention is suffered to languish, till at last it becomes totally inactive. He knows, perhaps, a great deal of history or science; but he knows not how to conduct himself on those ever-changing emergencies, which are too minute and too numerous to be comprehended in any system of advice. He is astonished at the most common appearances, and discouraged with the most trifling (because unexpected) obstacles; and he is often at his wit's end, where a boy of

of much less knowledge, but more experience, would instantly devise a thousand expedients.'

'Another inconvenience attending private education, is the suppressing of the principle of emulation, without which it rarely happens that a boy prosecutes his studies with alacrity or success. I have heard private tutors complain, that they were obliged to have recourse to flattery or bribery to engage the attention of their pupil; and I need not observe, how improper it is to set the example of such practices before children. True emulation, especially in young and ingenuous minds, is a noble principle; I have known the happiest effects produced by it; I never knew it to be productive of any vice. In all public schools it is, or ought to be, carefully cherished.'—'I shall only observe further, that when boys pursue their studies at home, they are apt to contract either a habit of idleness, or to close an attachment to reading; the former breeds innumerable diseases, both in the body and soul; the latter, by filling young and tender minds with more knowledge than they can either retain or arrange properly, is apt to make them superficial and inattentive, or, what is worse, to strain, and consequently impair the faculties, by overstretching them. I have known several instances of both.'

'The great inconvenience of public education arises from its being dangerous to morals. And indeed every condition and period of human life is liable to temptation. Nor will I deny, that our innocence, during the first part of life, is much more secure at home, than any where else; yet even at home, when we reach a certain age, it is not perfectly secure. Let young men be kept at the greatest distance from bad company; it will not be easy to keep them from bad books, to which, in these days, all persons may have easy access at all times. Let us, however, suppose the best; that both bad books and bad company keep away, and that the young man never leaves his parents' or tutor's side, till his mind be well furnished with good principles, and himself arrived at the age of reflection and caution: yet temptations must come at last; and when they come, will they have the less strength, because they are new, unexpected, and surprising? I fear not. The more the young man is surprised, the more apt will he be to lose his presence of mind, and consequently the less capable of self-government. Besides, if his passions are strong, he will be disposed to form comparisons between his past state of restraint, and his present of liberty, very much to the disadvantage of the former. His new associates will laugh at him for his reserve and preciseness; and his unacquaintance with their manners, and with the world, as it will render him the more obnoxious to their ridicule, will also disqualify him the more, both for supporting it with dignity, and also for defending himself against it.'—'A young man, kept by himself at home, is never well known, even by his parents; because he is never placed in those circumstances which alone are able effectually to rouse and interest his passions, and consequently to make his character appear. His parents, therefore, or tutors, never know his weak side, nor what

what particular advices or cautions he stands most in need of; whereas, if he had attended a public school, and mingled in the amusements and pursuits of his equals, his virtues and his vices would have been disclosing themselves every day; and his teachers would have known what particular precepts and examples it was most expedient to inculcate upon him. Compare those who have had a public education with those who have been educated at home; and it will not be found, in fact, that the latter are, either in virtue or in talents, superior to the former. I speak, Madam, from observation of fact, as well as from attending to the nature of the thing.' I. 180—185.

The following remarks upon the second-sight, and other superstitions of the Highlands, we think we have seen somewhere else. We extract them now from a letter to Mrs Montagu, and think they afford a favourable specimen of the author's powers of diffuse, easy, and descriptive illustration.

'I have been told, that the inhabitants of some parts of the Alps do also lay claim to a sort of second-sight: and I believe the same superstition, or something like it, may be found in many other countries, where the face of nature, and the solitary life of the natives, tend to impress the imagination with melancholy. The Highlands of Scotland are a picturesque, but gloomy region. Long tracts of solitary mountains covered with heath and rocks, and often obscured by mist; narrow valleys, thinly inhabited, and bounded by precipices that resound for ever with the fall of torrents; a soil so rugged, and a climate so dreary, as to admit neither the amusements of pasturage, nor the cheerful toils of agriculture; the mournful dashing of waves along the friths and lakes that everywhere intersect this country; the portentous sounds, which every change of the wind and every increase and diminution of the waters, is apt to raise in a region full of rocks and hollow cliffs and caverns; the grotesque and ghastly appearance of such a landscape, especially by the light of the moon;—objects like these diffuse an habitual gloom over the fancy, and give it that romantic cast, that disposes to invention, and that melancholy, which inclines one to the fear of unseen things and unknown events. It is observable, too, that the antient Scottish Highlanders had scarce any other way of supporting themselves, than by hunting, fishing or war; professions, that are continually exposed to the most fatal accidents. Thus, almost every circumstance in their lot tended to rouse and terrify the imagination. Accordingly, their poetry is uniformly mournful; their music melancholy and dreadful, and their superstitions are all of the gloomy kind. The fairies confined their gambols to the Lowlands: the mountains were haunted with giants and angry ghosts, and funeral processions, and other prodigies of direful import. That a people, beset with such real and imaginary bugbears, should fancy themselves dreaming even when awake, of corpses, and graves, and coffins, and other terrible things, seems natural enough; but that their visions ever tended to any real or useful discovery, I am much inclined to doubt.' I. 221, 222.

Of

Of the same degree and sort of merit are the following remarks on the credit due to voyagers reporting marvellous facts as to character and manners.

'When a European arrives in any remote part of the globe, the natives, if they know any thing of his country, will be apt to form no favourable opinion of his intentions, with regard to their liberties; if they know nothing of him, they will yet keep aloof, on account of his strange language, complexion, and accoutrements. In either case he has little chance of understanding their laws, manners, and principles of action, except by a long residence in the country, which would not suit the views of one traveller in five thousand. He therefore picks up a few strange plants and animals, which he may do with little trouble or danger; and, at his return to Europe, is welcomed by the literati, as a philosophic traveller of most accurate observation, and unquestionable veracity. He describes, perhaps with tolerable exactness, the soils, plants, and other irrational curiosities of the new country, which procures credit to what he has to say of the people; though his accuracy in describing the material phenomena, is no proof of his capacity to explain the moral One can easily dig to the root of a plant, but it is not so easy to penetrate the motive of an action; and till the motive of an action be known, we are no competent judges of its morality; and in many cases the motive of an action is not to be known without a most intimate knowledge of the language and manners of the agent. Our traveller then delivers a few facts of the moral kind, which perhaps he does not understand, and from them draws some inferences suitable to the taste of the times, or to a favourite hypothesis. He tells us of a Californian, who sold his bed in a morning, and came with tears in his eyes to beg it back at night; whence, he very wisely infers, that the poor Californians are hardly one degree above the brutes in understanding, for that they have neither foresight nor memory sufficient to direct their conduct on the most common occasions of life. In a word, they are quite a different species of animal from the European; and it is a gross mistake to think that all mankind are descended from the same first parents. But one needs not go so far as to California, in quest of men who sacrifice a future good to a present gratification. In the metropolis of Great Britain one may meet with many reputed Christians, who would act the same part for the pleasure of carousing half-a-day in a gin-shop. Again, to illustrate the same important truth, that man is a beast, or very little better, we are told of another nation, on the banks of the Orellana, so wonderfully stupid, that they cannot reckon beyond the number three, but point to the hair of their head, whenever they would signify a greater number; as if four, and four thousand, were to them equally inconceivable. But, whence it comes to pass, that these people are capable of speech, or of reckoning at all, even so far as to three, is a difficulty, of which our historian attempts not the solution. But till he shall solve it, I must beg leave to tell him, that the one half of his tale contradicts the other as effectually, as if he had told us of a people

people who were so weak as to be incapable of bodily exertion, and yet, that he had seen one of them lift a stone of a hundred weight. I. 392–94.

These are fair specimens of what is best in the volumes before us. Sometimes he is still more elaborate and ingenious; and attacks his female correspondents with this kind of familiar writing.

'What is the reason, Madam, that the poetry, and indeed the whole phraseology, of the eastern nations (and I believe the same thing holds of all uncultivated nations) is so full of glaring images, exaggerated metaphors, and gigantic descriptions? Is it, because that, in those countries, where art has made little progress, nature shoots forth into wilder magnificence, and every thing appears to be constructed on a larger scale? Is it that the language, through defect of copiousness, is obliged to adopt metaphor and similitude, even for expressing the most obvious sentiments? Is it, that the ignorance and indolence of such people, unfriendly to liberty, disposes them to regard their governors as of supernatural dignity, and to decorate them with the most pompous and high-sounding titles, the frequent use of which comes at last to infect their whole conversation with bombast? Or is it, that the passions of those people are really stronger, and their climate more luxuriant? Perhaps all these causes may conspire in producing this effect. Certain it is, that Europe is much indebted, for her style and manner of composition, to her antient authors, particularly to those of Greece, by whose example and authority that simple and natural diction was happily established, which all our best authors of succeeding times have been ambitious to imitate.' I. 234, 235.

These queries, however, were addressed to the ingenious Mrs Montagu; and seem to have been very much to her taste: at least she is polite enough to answer in the same style, and has rather the best of the battle we think. This is her response.

'You ask me why the eastern nations are, in their poetical compositions, so full of glaring images, and exaggerated metaphors. One reason, I presume, is, that they are little addicted to write or read prose. Fiction and bombast are called *le Phœbus*, in the French language: the marvellous is affected in poetry more than in prose; exaggeration is a road to the marvellous. The first passage from hieroglyphic representation to imitation by words, must naturally be by images. The Greeks, by a certain subtilty of parts, and the popular character of the philosophers, addicted themselves greatly to metaphysics: this banished from the learned the grosser images. They cultivated all the parts of rhetoric; thence grew precision, and consequently the figurative style became less in use; words acquired certain and exact signification; and Socrates, the best and most modest of men, would inculcate the maxim, that the gods hate impudence, without delineating an eagle, a crocodile, a sea-horse, and a fish, as the Egyptain sages had done, to teach it. Many of the high-pompous and high-sounding titles you take notice of as given to eastern princes, are verbal translations of the symbols of regal

gal power, executive justice, &c. As to Homer, we know little about him; he seems to paint exactly from the life, as our Shakespeare did, and as the first-rate geniuses will always do, where there are not established laws of criticism, to which they must bend, and which set up a pattern and mode to work by. You will find Æschylus an hieroglyphical, symbolical, allegorical writer: his works smell of Egypt, and the mythology of his country. Sophocles saw that the historical muse of Herodotus was admired; he therefore takes a more middle flight between history and poetry. Euripides finds his countrymen still more refined, and is a moral philosopher, as well as poet. He writes to Socrates, and the disciples of Socrates. Something of the pomp and luxury of an Asiatic poet's descriptions certainly arises from the wealth and plenty of his country, and the display of gold and jewels, and the perfumes, &c. in the palaces of the great. Ossian exaggerates only the strength and valour of his heroes, and the beauty of his women. As poetry professes to please and surprise, it will always embellish and magnify.' I. 241–43.

This is marvellous fine, we own, and very satisfactory. All the *billets-doux*, however, of those learned correspondents, are not quite so lofty. Sometimes they condescend to be sentimental, and to tell pretty stories; and then, no doubt, they are still more ridiculous. Thus Dr Beattie tells a silly anecdote of somebody having seen a pigeon perch on the head of Shakespeare's statue at Stratford; to which Mrs Montagu replies, by observing, that 'any bird might have been a symbol of Shakespeare—the gravity and deep thought of the bird of wisdom,—the sublime flight of the eagle to the starry regions,' &c.; and Dr Beattie, unable to drop 'the pretty incident,' as they tenderly call it, rejoins in the following passage, which is of a quiet and mawkish stupidity, we think, equal to any thing that ever fell from the pen of Richardson's female correspondents.

'I have not yet seen the verses on Shakespeare and the dove. One thing I am certain of, which is, that they will contain nothing so much to the purpose, or so elegant, as what you have said on the occasion, in prose. You justly remark, that any bird of character, from the eagle to the sky-lark, from the owl to the mockbird, might symbolize with one or other of the attributes of that universal genius. But do not you think, that his dove-like qualities are among those on which he *now* reflects with peculiar complacency? And I think it could be shown, from many things in his writings, that he resembled the dove, as much as the eagle.' I. 394.

We are compelled to notice some other faults in these letters, of a still more serious nature. We allude to the habitual assentation and exaggerated compliments with which the author seems to have addressed all his wealthy or celebrated correspondents; and to some other occasional traits of meanness which suit very ill with

with the lofty pretensions which he now and then makes to independence.

We have no objection to sprightly compliments to a lady—though she should be opulent and stricken in years,—provided they are delivered with that light and careless air which gives them grace and propriety; but such elaborate *douceurs* as occur in the following letter to Mrs Montagu, look too much like adulation, and are humiliating to all the parties concerned.

'Your last letter of the 5th June, reached me after I had been some days at Peterhead, endeavouring, by the use of the medicinal waters of that place, to shake off this hideous indisposition. But from that water I did not receive half so much benefit, as from the very agreeable accounts you gave me of your health and spirits. I congratulate you, Madam, and myself on your recovery, and I earnestly pray it may be permanent.

'Your description of Tunbridge-wells is so very lively, that I think myself present in every part of it. I see your hills, your cattle, your carriages, your *beaux and belles* blended together in agreeable confusion. I am delighted while I sympathize with the feelings of those, whose imagination is refreshed and amused, by the pleasing incongruities of the scene, and whose health and spirits are restored by the freshness of the air, and the virtues of the fountain. But what interests and delights me most of all, and more than words can express, is, that by the eye of fancy I behold you, Madam, looking around on this scene with an aspect, in which all your native benignity, sprightliness, and harmony of soul are heightened, with every decoration that health and cheerfulness can bestow.' I. 228–9.

'Your most obliging and most excellent letter of the 14th current, bore the impression of Socrates on the outside: but judgment, better than that of Socrates, spoke within. He, if I mistake not, piqued himself on having constantly resided in Athens, and used to say, that he found no instruction in stones or trees; but you, Madam, better skilled in the human heart, and more thoroughly acquainted with all its sublimer affections, do justly consider that quiet which the country affords, and those soothing and elevating sentiments which "rural sights and rural sounds" so powerfully inspire, as necessary to purify the soul, and raise it to the contemplation of the first and greatest good. Yet, I think, you rightly determine,' &c. I. 287–8.

After this, the reader will not be surprised to find him telling her, 'My models of English are Addison, and those who write like Addison, *particularly yourself*, Madam, and Lord Lyttleton.' All this, however, would have been much more tolerable, if it had only been a commerce of mutual flattery, in which both parties were on an equal footing; but it appears clearly, that Mrs Montagu sometimes paid this praise in more substantial coin; and that Beattie thanked her for it with a lowliness which it grieves us to see in a man of letters who was so independent of patronage.

patronage. Mention is made, more than once, of her pecuniary benefactions to him and his family; and in the following paragraph, he has degraded himself to the condition of a starving pedagogue. 'How shall I thank you, Madam, for all your goodness? Your refusal to accept of any indemnification for the expense of my advertisements, is a new instance! I am ashamed, and know not what to say. *Dii tibi—et mens sibi conscia recti, præmia digna ferant!*'

There are worse traits of the same kind in the book. When he was soliciting his pension, the Dutchess of Portland, who had never seen him before, asked him to accept 100*l.* He did not take it indeed; but, instead of resenting the insulting offer of charity to an established professor, he appears to have declined it with many thanks, and ever afterwards to have regarded the Dutchess with uncommon veneration. Samuel Johnson, when he was starving on fourpence a day, would have rejected the alms with disdain. The most humiliating of all these stories, however, is one about a subscription which Lady Mayne, and some of her friends, had set on foot for a splendid edition of his Essay, by which they thought a considerable sum might be raised, in case his application to Government should prove unsuccessful. After it was crowned with success, and the pension obtained, it appears that the subscription was allowed to languish; and Dr Beattie was even directly warned by some of his friends that it would have an appearance of great meanness, and be disgraceful to his character, if it were still allowed to go on. The Doctor, however, would not agree to drop it. He wrote a long letter in answer to this remonstrance, setting forth, that it was a private thing, and not projected by him, but by his friends; that he thought it honourable to him, &c. &c; and, at last, finding that this did not satisfy his more scrupulous correspondent, he wrote to Lady Mayne, requesting, that since such misconstructions existed, 'no *entreaty* should be used *to draw in subscribers*, and that they who *make objections* should not be solicited a second time!' If he had been begging for a widow and eight orphans, he could not have made a more pitiful concession.

We are less offended with the silken courtesy of all his addresses to the bishops and well beneficed clergymen of England, in whose palaces and parsonages he takes his repose, and the dexterity with which he selects for them those topics on which he must have known that the flattery of a Scottish philosopher would be most acceptable. We, for our own parts, are still so national, that it takes all our charity to believe that he could be quite sincere in his praises of the pulpit eloquence of England, and his decided preference of their plan of academical education to our own. The most amusing

of

of all his complimentary productions, however, are the sentimental love-letters which he addresses, in great numbers, to the *Dutchess of Gordon*, for ten or twelve years of his life. He cautions her against her excessive love of solitude, and her passion for moonlight wanderings and pensive contemplation,—enlarges upon the dangers of indulging in extreme sensibility,—and exhorts her to moderate her passion for Young's Night Thoughts, and her amiable anxiety for her husband and children!

We have great indulgence for the vanity of an author; and therefore, we say nothing of the manifold false judgments which Dr Beattie here passes in his own favour; but we cannot quite so easily forgive the affected contempt with which he pretends to speak of those who were ranged against him in controversy, and the impatience with which he allows even his own associates to give them credit for any sort of genius. He is very angry with Dr Reid and Dr Campbell, for treating Mr Hume as a writer of distinguished abilities, and is quite out of humour with Dr Robertson, for praising the eloquence and accuracy of Voltaire, and paying some compliments to Gibbon and Raynal:—for himself he openly avows, that he detests the principles of those infidel writers, and 'despises their talents.' This would scarcely go down, we should imagine, even among the blue stockings of Montagu house; and certainly it is not calculated to produce any very favourable impression of the author's judgment or sincerity. As he has borrowed the whole of his philosophy from Dr Reid, he might have submitted to take his opinion of the talents against which it was directed; and really should not have let Miss Hannah More and Lord Lyttleton persuade him that he was entitled to talk with contempt of the genius of Hume and Voltaire. With the same supercilious scorn for his infidelity, he has a girlish admiration of Rousseau, and places him, as a moral philosopher, in the same class with Bacon and Montesquieu. He had too tender a heart! he says, to be a confirmed infidel, and was led into scepticism by the bad company which he kept at Paris! The perusal of these letters, in short, has not often exalted our ideas of Dr Beattie's intellectual attainments; and has certainly brought to light some flaws in his moral character, which his friends would have acted more discreetly in allowing to descend to oblivion.

We have not left ourselves much room to estimate the general merits of his various publications; but, as they are all analyzed and extolled in the work before us, it is necessary, before dismissing it, to say something on the subject.

The work which makes the greatest figure, and was certainly the first foundation of the author's celebrity, is the 'Essay on the

the Nature and Immutability of Truth,' on which such unmeasured praises are bestowed, both by the present biographer and by all the author's male and female correspondents, that it is with difficulty we can believe that they are speaking of the performance which we have just been wearying ourselves with looking over. That the author's intentions were good, and his conviction sincere, we entertain not the least doubt; but that the merits of his book have been prodigiously overrated, we think, is equally undeniable. It contains absolutely nothing, in the nature of argument, that had not been previously stated by Dr Reid in his inquiry into the Human Mind; and, in our opinion, in a much clearer and more unexceptionable form. As to the merits of that philosophy, we have already taken occasion, in two separate places, * to submit our opinion to the judgment of our readers: and, after having settled our accounts with Mr Stewart and Dr Reid, we really do not think it worth while to enter the lists again with Dr Beattie. Whatever may be the excellence of the common-sense school of philosophy, he certainly has no claim to the honours of a founder. He invented none of it; and it is very doubtful with us, whether he ever rightly understood the principles upon which it is rested. It is unquestionable, at least, that he has exposed it to considerable disadvantage, and embarrassed its more enlightened supporters, by the misplaced confidence with which he has urged some propositions, and the fallacious and fantastic illustrations by which he has aimed at recommending them.

His confidence and his inaccuracy, however, might have been easily forgiven. Every one has not the capacity of writing philosophically; but every one may at least be temperate and candid; and Dr Beattie's book is still more remarkable for being abusive and acrimonious, than for its defects in argument or originality. There are no subjects, however, in the wide field of human speculation, upon which such vehemence appears more groundless and unaccountable, than the greater part of those which have served Dr Beattie for topics of declamation or invective.

His first great battle is about the real existence of external objects. The sceptics say, that perception is merely an act or affection of the mind, and consequently might exist without any external cause. It is a sensation or affection of the mind, indeed, which consists in the apprehension and belief of such external existences; but being in itself a phenomenon purely mental, it is a mere supposition or conjecture to hold that there are any such existences, by whose operation it is produced. It is impossible therefore, to bring any evidence for the existence of material ob-

* Vol. III. p. 281. Vol. VII. p. 170.

jects; and the belief which is admitted to be inseparable from the act of perception, can never be received as such evidence. The whole question is about the *grounds* of this belief, and not about its existence; and the phenomena of dreaming and madness even prove experimentally, that perception, as characterized by belief, may exist where there is no external object. Dr Beattie answers, after Dr Reid, that the mere existence of this instinctive and indestructible belief in the reality of external objects, is a complete and sufficient proof of their reality; that nature meant us to be satisfied with it; and that we cannot call it in question, without running into the greatest absurdities.

This is the whole dispute, and a pretty correct summary of the argument upon both sides of the question. But is there any thing here that could justify the calling of names, or the violation of decorum among the disputants? The question is, of all other questions that can be suggested, the most purely and entirely speculative, and obviously disconnected from any practical or moral consequences. After what Berkeley has written on the subject, it must be a gross and wilful fallacy to pretend that the *conduct* of men can be in the smallest degree affected by the opinions they entertain about the existence or non-existence of matter. The system which maintains the latter, leaves all our sensations and perceptions unimpaired and entire; and as it is by these, and by these only, that our conduct is guided, it is evident that it can never be altered by the adoption of that system. The whole dispute is about the *cause* or *origin* of our perceptions; which the one party ascribes to the action of external bodies, and the other to the inward development of some mental energy. It is a question of pure curiosity; it never can be decided; and as its decision is perfectly indifferent and immaterial to any practical purpose, so, it might have been expected that the discussion should be conducted without virulence or abuse.

The next grand dispute is about the evidence of memory. The sceptics will have it, that we are sure of nothing but our present sensations; and that, though these are sometimes characterized by an impression and belief that other sensations did formerly exist, we can have no evidence of the justice of this belief, nor any certainty that this illusive conception of former sensation, which we call memory, may not be an *original* affection of our minds. The orthodox philosophers, on the other hand, maintain that the instinctive reliance we have on memory is complete and satisfactory proof of its accuracy; that it is absurd to ask for the grounds of this belief; and that we cannot call it in question without manifest inconsistency. The same observations which were made on the argument for the existence of matter, apply also to this controversy. It is purely speculative, and without application

application to any practical conclusion. The sceptics do not deny that they remember like other people, and, consequently, that they have an indestructible belief in past events or existences. All the question is about the *origin*, or the justice of this belief; —whether it arise from such events having actually happened before, or from some original affection of the mind, which is attended with that impression.

The argument, as commonly stated by the sceptics, leads only to a negative or sceptical conclusion. It amounts only to this, that the present sensation, which we call memory, affords *no evidence* of past existence; and that for any thing that can be *proved* to the contrary, nothing of what we remember *may* have existed. We think this undeniably true; and so we believe did Dr Beattie. He thought it also very useless; and we agree with him: but he thought it very wicked, and very despicably silly: and there we cannot agree with him at all. It is a very pretty and ingenious puzzle,—affords a very useful mortification to human reason, —and leads us to that state of philosophical wonder and perplexity in which we feel our own helplessness, and in which we *ought* to feel the impropriety of all dogmatism, or arrogance in reasoning upon such subjects. This is the only use and the only meaning of such sceptical speculations. It is altogether unfair, and indeed absurd, to suppose that their authors could ever mean positively to maintain that we should try to get the better of any reliance on our memories, or that they themselves really doubted more than other people as to the past reality of the things they remembered. The very arguments they use, indeed, to show that the evidence of memory *may* be fallacious, prove, completely, that they relied implicitly on the accuracy of that faculty. If they were not sure that they recollected the premises of their reasoning, it is evidently impossible they should ever have drawn their conclusion. If they did not believe that they had seen the books they answered, it is impossible they should have set about answering them.

The truth is, however, that all men have a practical and irresistible belief both in the existence of matter, and in the accuracy of memory; and that no sceptical writer ever meant or expected to destroy this practical belief in other persons. All that they aimed at, was to show their own ingenuity, and the narrow limits of the human understanding,—to point out a curious distinction between the evidence of immediate consciousness, and that of perception or memory,—and to show that there was a kind of logical or argumentative *possibility*, that the objects of the latter faculties might have no existence. There never was any danger of their persuading men to distrust their senses or

their memory; nor can they be rationally suspected of such an intention: on the contrary, they necessarily took for granted the instinctive and indestructible belief for which they found it so difficult to account. Their whole reasonings consist of an attempt to explain that admitted fact, and to ascertain the grounds upon which that belief depends. In the end, they agree with their adversaries, that these grounds cannot be ascertained; and the only difference between them is, that the adversary maintains that they need no explanation; while the sceptic insists that the want of it still leaves a possibility that the belief may be fallacious, and at any rate establishes a distinction in degree between the primary evidence of consciousness, which it is impossible to distrust without a contradiction, and the secondary evidence of perception and memory, which may be clearly conceived to be erroneous.

To this extent, we are clearly of opinion that the sceptics are right; and though the value of the discovery certainly is as small as possible, we are just as well satisfied that its consequences are perfectly harmless. Their reasonings are about as ingenious and as innocent as some of those which have been employed to establish certain strange paradoxes as to the nature of motion, or the infinite divisibility of matter. The argument is perfectly logical and unanswerable; and yet no man in his senses can admit the conclusion. Thus, it can be strictly demonstrated, that the swiftest moving body can never overtake the slowest which is before it, at the commencement of the motion; or, in the words of the original problem, that the swift-footed Achilles could never overtake a snail that had a few yards the start of him. The reasoning upon which this valuable proposition is founded, does not admit, we believe, of any direct confutation; and yet there are few, we believe, who, upon the faith of it, would take a bet as to the result of such a race. The sceptical reasonings as to the mind, lead to no other practical conclusions: and may be answered or acquiesced in with the same good nature.

Such, however, are the chief topics which Dr Beattie has discussed in this Essay, with a vehemence of temper, and an impotence of reasoning, equally surprising and humiliating to the cause of philosophy. The subjects we have mentioned occupy the greater part of this Essay, and are indeed almost the only ones to which its title at all applies. Yet we think it must be already apparent, that there is nothing whatsoever in the doctrines he opposes, to call down his indignation, or to justify his abuse. That there are other doctrines in some of the books which he has aimed at confuting, which would justify the most zealous opposition of every friend to religion, we readily admit; but these have no necessary dependance on the general speculative

tive scepticism to which we have now been alluding, and will be best refuted by those who lay all that general reasoning entirely out of consideration. Mr Hume's theory of morals, which, when rightly understood, we conceive to be both salutary and true, certainly has no connexion with his doctrine of ideas and impressions; and the great question of liberty and necessity, which Dr Beattie has settled, by mistaking, throughout, the power of *doing* what we will, for the power of *willing* without motives, evidently depends upon considerations altogether separate from the nature and immutability of truth. It has always appeared to us, indeed, that too much importance has been attached to *theories* of morals, and to speculations on the sources of approbation. Our feelings of approbation and disapprobation, and the moral distinctions which are raised upon them, are *facts* which no theory can alter, although it may fail to explain. While these facts remain, they must regulate the conduct, and affect the happiness of mankind, whether they are well or ill accounted for by the theories of philosophers. It is the same nearly with regard to the controversy about cause and effect. It does not appear to us that Mr Hume ever meant to deny the existence of such a relation, or of the relative idea of power. He has merely given a new theory as to its genealogy or descent; and detected some very gross inaccuracies in the opinions and reasonings which were formerly prevalent on that subject.

If Dr Beattie had been able to refute these doctrines, we cannot help thinking that he would have done it with more temper and moderation; and disdained to court popularity by so much fulsome cant about common sense, virtue and religion, and his contempt and abhorrence for infidels, sophists, and metaphysicians; by such babyish interjections, as 'fy on it! fy on it!'—such triumphant exclamations, as, 'say, ye candid and intelligent!'—or such terrific addresses, as, 'ye traitors to human kind! ye murderers of the human soul!'—'vain hypocrites! perfidious profligates!' and a variety of other embellishments, as dignified as original in a philosophical and argumentative treatise. The truth is, that the Essay acquired its popularity, partly from the indifference and dislike which has long prevailed in England, as to metaphysical inquiries; partly from the perpetual appeal which it affects to make from philosophical subtlety to common sense; and partly from the accidental circumstances of the author. It was a great matter for the orthodox scholars of the south, who knew little of metaphysics themselves, to get a Scotch professor of philosophy to take up the gauntlet in their behalf. The contempt with which he chose to speak of his antagonists was the very tone which they wished to be adopted; and, some of them,

imposed on by the confidence of his manner, and some resolved to give it all chances of imposing on others, they joined in one clamour of approbation, and proclaimed a triumph for a mere rash skirmisher, while the leader of the battle was still doubtful of the victory. The book, thus dandled into popularity by bishops and good ladies, contained many pieces of nursery eloquence, and much innocent pleasantry: it was not fatiguing to the understanding; and read less heavily, on the whole, than most of the Sunday library. In consequence of all these recommendations, it ran through various editions, and found its way into most well regulated families; and, though made up of such stuff, as we really believe no grown man who had ever thought of the subject could possibly go through without nausea and compassion, still retains its place among the meritorious performances, by which youthful minds are to be purified and invigorated. We shall hear no more of it, however, among those who have left college.

We turn with pleasure from Dr Beattie's philosophy to his poetry; though this is by no means of the highest order. There is a degree of tenderness and solemnity in some passages of the Minstrel, that recommend it irresistibly to all good minds; and some specimens of large and animated description, which belong to the higher order of poetry: but there is, in general, an air of feebleness and constraint, both in the diction, and conception, that continually destroys the illusion of inspiration, and, instead of the fine enchantments of fancy, shows us the laborious artist, with all his scholastic tools about him, exhausting himself in vain efforts of imitation. There is throughout a miserable barrenness of invention, much disjointed and misplaced composition, and innumerable patches of silliness, pedantry, and vulgarity. His other poems are scarcely deserving of notice. The battle of the Pigmies and Cranes is by far the best versified; and shows a freer use of poetical language than any of his other compositions. The hermit is also very smooth and mellifluous; the odes and elegies are laborious reading; and the pieces in which he has aimed at pleasantry, are beyond all endurance abominable. The later editions of his poems are improved by the omission of much trash; but a reader of any nerves must still look with horror on a volume, which may assail him on its opening with such verses as these.

> 'A Spaniard reach'd the moon, upborne by geese;
> (Then first 'twas known that she was made of cheese.)
> A fiddler, on a fish, thro' waves advanc'd;
> He twang'd his catgut, and the dolphin danc'd.
> Hags ride on broom-sticks;—heathen gods on clouds:
> Ladies, on rams and bulls, have dar'd the floods.

Much

Much fam'd the shoe Jack Giant-killer wore;
And Fortunatus' hat is fam'd much more.
Such vehicles were common ones no doubt;
But modern versemen must e'en trudge on foot.' &c.

It is as a writer of essays, critical and philological, that we think Dr Beattie most uniformly excellent. There is much acuteness, neatness and delicacy, in many of these performances. They are written in a very pleasing and popular style; generally elegant, and always perspicuous and flowing. His judgment of authors is commonly correct and candid; his illustrations lively and amusing; and his praises bestowed with considerable elegance and felicity of expression. There is much more originality in those works, than in any of his other productions; and though occasionally feeble and affected, they entitle him, we think, to the praise of the most pleasing and ingenious writer on the *Belles Lettres* of his day. By an extraordinary fatality, they are less heard of than any of his other writings; and his reputation is commonly rested, we must think very injudiciously, upon performances, which must ultimately take their station in the third and fourth ranks of literary excellence.

ART. XIII. *A Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, addressed to the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of Yorkshire.* By W. Wilberforce, Esq. 8vo. pp. 396. London, Cadell & Davies. 1807.

IT is with very sincere pleasure, that we congratulate our readers on the final and complete triumph of the great cause, so often pleaded in this Journal; and which we have had the satisfaction of bringing forward, upon every lawful occasion, from the commencement of our undertaking to the present day.* Of late, indeed, conceiving that the merits of the question were sufficiently known, we have only noticed such new matter as occurred from time to time; and having thus followed the progress of the abolition historically, our labours would be incomplete were we to pass over the present opportunity of bringing this great subject once more before our readers, happily in its very last stage, and, we may be permitted to hope, for the last time. The interesting publication of Mr Wilberforce, the distinguished leader in the contest, was the last work of any note that appeared before its termination. As such, it claims our attention, pre-

* See No. I. Art. XXI.

vious to the remarks with which we purpose to close our humble efforts in this department.

Mr Wilberforce has exhibited, in the shape of an address to his constituents, a very full and faithful view of the whole arguments which bear upon the question of the slave trade. He takes it up in Africa, and describes at length the evils which this nefarious traffic has entailed upon that continent. He examines minutely the grounds on which his adversaries have disputed the evidence of the abolitionists; exposes the misrepresentations which have enabled them to blind and to mislead the public upon these points; and shows, by a full discussion of the proof, not only that it preponderates on the side of abolition, but that, when rightly sifted, its *whole* weight lies there. By a similar examination of the evidence, relating both to the middle passage and the West Indian branch of the subject, he extends his conclusions to those points also; and handles, in detail, and with irresistible force, the various arguments, whereby the abolitionists prove, from the mouths of the slave traders themselves, that the prosperity of our marine, and the safety of our colonies, require the extinction of the traffic, as plainly as those common feelings of humanity and justice on which it has been a constant outrage.

To assert that, in the course of this exposition, our author has not adduced many new arguments, or even many novel illustrations of his subject, would be only to remind the reader, that Mr Wilberforce is here repeating in print what he has by his parliamentary labours already laid before the country. We have learned these things from him upon former occasions, otherwise we should prize them for their novelty as much as for their importance. Yet great talents will every now and then throw new light, even upon topics which their own efforts had long ago rendered trite. And, so much more inexhaustible is a man's genius than the most extensive subject to which he can apply it, that, when new facts and arguments are no longer to be found, after nineteen or twenty years of constant discussion, we shall find him striking out some happy and unexpected view of the most familiar things. This we have frequently experienced in perusing the tract now before us. It not only gives a luminous statement of all the known arguments for the abolition, with a careful exposition of the evidence on both sides, but it contains several happy allusions and remarks, which diffuse a new light over some of the best known parts of the question, and make us for a while forget that we had seen them before.

We consider this publication as valuable in another point of view. Mr Wilberforce is certainly one of the most eloquent

speakers

speakers of whom, alas! our senate can now boast. His pamphlet is a written speech; and, with most of the defects, retains many of the beauties which eminently distinguish his oratory. His style is easy and flowing; rather clear than condensed; altogether free from bombast, and, indeed, from any ornament of a false taste; never failing to reach what it attempts, though it may not often point at the highest marks; varying with the nature of the topics, and, from being so natural, void of what is called 'manner;' almost always animated, and its strength chiefly impaired by want of correcting and curtailing. It is the manner of one who has written little and spoken much, who has always studied his subject more than his oratory, who now makes a speech to his amanuensis, and has it printed without a careful revisal. Such, indeed, we presume to be, in a good measure, the fact; and, even if verbal criticism were not out of the question on this occasion, the unavoidable haste in which we conceive the pamphlet must have been prepared, would be an ample excuse for many more inaccuracies than we have discovered in its composition.

We shall extract one or two passages which struck us in the perusal,—premising that little more than the merits of the style can be estimated by any such specimens; for the chief excellence of the work consists in the acuteness with which the evidence is commented upon, the uniform soundness of the author's views, both on his own subject and on questions incidentally connected with it, and the unabating vigilance which he shows in taking up every little point that comes across him, and turning it to his object, without breaking down the body of his argument. These things can only be judged of by a perusal of the whole tract. The liveliness of manner, by which he keeps our attention awake for an unnecessary length of time on a very beaten subject, may be seen in such passages as the following.

After citing various statements from Mr Long's History of Jamaica, to prove that this author viewed the negroes as a race of men radically inferior to the whites, he continues,

'Such is Mr Long's portrait of the negro character; such was the state of contempt into which the whole race had fallen, in the estimation of those who had known them chiefly in that condition of wretchedness and degradation into which a long continued course of slavery had depressed them. Can any thing show more clearly, with what strong prejudices against the negro race, the minds not only of low uneducated men, but of a West Indian, whose authority is great, and whose name stands high among his countrymen, were, some years ago at least, infected? Consequently they prove with what spirit and temper, even well-informed men, among the colonists, entered on the consideration of the various questions involved in the large and complicated discussion concerning the abolition of the Slave Trade.

'But

'But the subject is of the very first importance in another view; for it is a truth so clear that it would be a mere waste of time to prove it in detail—that our estimate of the intellectual and moral qualities, of the natural and acquired tempers, and feelings, and habits, of any class of our fellow-creatures, will determine our judgment as to what is necessary to their happiness, and still more as to the treatment they may reasonably claim at our hands. Now let it be remembered, the author, whose account of the Africans has been just laid before you, was the very best informed of those on whose views and feelings respecting the negroes, our opponents would have had us entirely rely. Must not the representations of such witnesses against the negroes be received with large abatement, and ought we not to lend ourselves to their suggestions with considerable diffidence? What judgment would they be likely to form of the consideration to which, whether in Africa, on shipboard, or in the West Indies, the negroe slaves were entitled? By how scanty a measure would their comforts be dispensed to them! And when, in answer to our inquiries, we were assured that in these several situations, their treatment was *sufficiently* mild and humane, and that *due* attention was paid to their wants and feelings, might we not reasonably receive these assurances with some reserve, on calling to mind that they proceeded from persons whose estimate of *sufficiency* was drawn from their calculations of what was *due* to the wants and feelings, the pleasures and pains of a being little above the brute creation; not of a being of talents and passions, of anticipations and recollections, of social and domestic feelings similar to our own?' p. 61, 62.

The above passage also draws, from a well known topic, a new illustration of the subject, and skilfully turns against the adversary, some of his own facts, in an unexpected way. The next example which we shall take, places some of the prevailing prejudices respecting Africa in a new and strong light. He shows, by a general historical sketch, that while other nations were communicating to each other the blessings of civilization, and while no real progress was ever made by any one, except by intercourse with others, Africa was left to itself, and had only such a communication with the rest of the world as tended to perpetuate its barbarism.

'It may therefore be boldly affirmed, that the interior, to which may be added the western coast of Africa to the south of the great desert, never enjoyed any of that intercourse with more polished nations, without which no nation on earth is known ever to have attained to any high degree of civilization; and that, contemptuously as we and the other civilized nations of Europe now speak of the Africans, had we been left in their situation, we should probably have been not more civilized than themselves.

'Let the case be put, that the interior of Africa had been made by the Almighty the cradle of the world—that issuing thence, instead of from the north western part of Asia, the several streams of nations had pervaded

pervaded and settled the whole of that extensive continent—that the banks of the Niger, not less fertile than those of the Euphrates or the Nile, had been the seat of the first great empire—that the kingdoms of Tombuctoo and Houssa had been the Assyria and Egypt of Africa, and that the arts and sciences had been communicated to a cluster of little independent states, and, under the same favourable circumstances, had been carried to the same heights of excellence as that which they attained in European Greece—that these had been however in their turn swallowed up, together with the whole of that vast continent, by the arms of a single nation, the Romans of Africa, under the shelter of whose established dominion the various nations throughout that spacious extent, enjoying the blessings of civil order and security, the natural consequence had followed, that in every quarter the arts and sciences had sprung up and flourished—Might not our northern countries have been in the same state of comparative barbarism in which Africa now lies? Might not some African philosopher, proud of his superior accomplishments, have made it a question, whether those wretched whites, the very outcasts of nature, who were banished to the cold regions of the north, were capable of civilization? And thus, might not a Slave Trade in Europeans, aye, in Britons, have then been justified by those sable reasoners, on precisely the same grounds as those on which the African Slave Trade is now supported?

'However the last supposition may mortify our pride, it will appear less monstrous to those who recollect, that not only in antient times the wisest among the Greeks considered the barbarians, including all the inhabitants of our quarter of the earth, as expressly intended by nature to be their slaves; not only that the Romans regularly sold into slavery all the captives whom they took in the wars, by which on all sides they gradually extended their empire till it was almost commensurate with the then known world; but that our own island long furnished its share towards the supply of the Roman market. Even at a latter period of our history, we Englishmen have been the subjects of a Slave Trade, for which it is remarkable that the city of Bristol was the grand emporium. That antient city has now, I trust, for the last time, retired from that guilty commerce.' p. 80—82.

This address concludes as follows; and we quote the passage, rather for its eloquence, than for any signal novelty or correctness of reasoning which it exhibits.

'But it is often rather in the way of a gradual decline, than of violent and sudden shocks, that national crimes are punished. I must frankly therefore confess to you, that in the case of my country's prosperity or decline, my hopes and fears are not the sport of every passing rumour; nor do they rise or fall materially, according to the successive reports we may receive of the defeats or victories of Bonaparte. This consideration opens the view into a wide field; and I must abstain from so much as setting my foot on it. I will only remark, that a country circumstanced in all respects like this, under an auspicious Providence, and

and using our various resources with energy and wisdom, has no cause whatever for despondency. But he who has looked with any care into the page of history, will acknowledge, that when nations are prepared for their fall, human instruments will not be wanting to effect it; and, lest man, vain man, so apt to overrate the powers and achievements of human agents, should ascribe the subjugation of the Romans to the consummate policy and power of a Julius Cæsar, their slavery shall be completed by the unwarlike Augustus, and shall remain entire under the hateful tyranny of Tiberius, and throughout all the varieties of their successive masters. Thus it is, that, most commonly by the operation of natural causes, and in the way of natural consequences, Providence governs the world. But if we are not blind to the course of human events, as well as utterly deaf to the plain instructions of Revelation, we must believe that a continued course of wickedness, oppression, and cruelty, obstinately maintained in spite of the fullest knowledge and the loudest warnings, must infallibly bring down upon us the heaviest judgments of the Almighty. We may ascribe our fall to weak councils, or unskilful generals; to a factious and overburdened people; to storms which waste our fleets; to diseases which thin our armies; to mutiny among our soldiers and sailors, which may even turn against us our own force; to the diminution of our revenues, and the excessive increase of our debt: men may complain, on one side, of a venal ministry; on the other, of a factious opposition; while, amid mutual recriminations, the nation is gradually verging to its fate. Providence will easily provide means for the accomplishment of its own purposes. It cannot be denied, that there are circumstances in the situation of this country, which, reasoning from experience, we must call marks of a declining empire; but we have, as I firmly believe, the means within ourselves of arresting the progress of this decline. We have been eminently blessed; we have been long spared; let us not presume too far on the forbearance of the Almighty.' p. 349—351.

The bill for effecting the great object of Mr Wilberforce's public life, was at length brought into Parliament by the leading members of the late virtuous and enlightened administration, in both Houses. Lord Grenville introduced it to the Lords, and Lord Howick to the Commons, with the entire concurrence of almost all their colleagues. It was carried by the most triumphant majorities through every stage of its progress. On the chief division in the House of Commons, only *sixteen* members voted against the abolition, while *two hundred and eighty one* gave their voices in its favour. The bill received the royal assent on the 27th of March, by commissioners; and it afforded some consolation to many persons, whose joy was damped, by reflecting that the most illustrious advocate of their cause did not live to share in this triumph, when they saw the chosen friends of Mr Fox erecting the best monument to his memory, by accomplishing,

ing, before they laid down their offices, the work nearest his heart.*

We cannot suffer this occasion to pass away, without reminding the friends of the abolition how much remains to be done, even after this great measure has received the sanction of a law. To see this statute strictly executed; to watch over all the evasions which slave traders may attempt; and to pursue every hint which may be received of connivance on the part of colonial officers, or of new rulers at home, adverse to the abolition, will be the indispensable duty of those zealous and upright persons, whose efforts have already triumphed over so many difficulties, and who have, in fact, only succeeded at last, because they found a government honestly favourable to their cause.

This truth they should always keep before their eyes, that the law which has just been made will not execute itself. If left to the care of those who, by their stations, are bound to carry its provisions into effect, it will encounter all the difficulties, from their prejudices and interests, which have so long retarded its enactment. A vigilant attention—a constant interference—on the part of the government in the mother country, can alone give life to the letter of this statute in the colonies. Should the members of that government betray the sacred trust which their predecessors have left them, it will be no satisfaction to the community, that their names may then rise out of obscurity into universal execration. The duty of those who have wiped away from the character of the British nation, the foulest stain that ever sullied the fame of a generous people,—who have caused the slave trade to be proclaimed a crime by the law of the land,—requires one other effort,— that they shall see the sentence executed which they have obtained, and the practice put a stop to, which has at length been declared illegal.

Before taking leave of this great question, we may be permitted to indulge in one reflection of a very pleasing nature. It is not many months since the success of the abolition was contemplated, rather as highly desirable, than as greatly to be expected; and a few years ago, hardly any man looked for it. The measure has, no doubt, been carried through by the enlightened zeal of the late ministry. But there are predisposing causes to which the ultimate result must be ascribed. This is not, we apprehend, one of the cases where the wisdom of government has gone before the voice of the people,—where great statesmen, outstripping their age, have introduced changes, barely acquiesced in for

* The late ministers gave the royal assent to the bill half an hour before they retired. Lord Holland was one of the commissioners.

for the present, and justly appreciated only by after times. The sense of the nation has pressed the abolition upon ourrulers. Parliament has complied with the general feeling, after the eyes of all men were opened, and their voices lifted up against the combined impolicy and injustice of the slave trade. There are other cases of the same kind, which the country has begun to think upon. The state of the Irish Catholics—the policy pursued towards our East Indian possessions—and the propriety of a pacific system in Europe—are subjectson which men only differ, because they have not fully discussed them. The further diffusion of information respecting these important questions, will probably, in the course of a short time, leave as few enemies to the sound doctrines which sensible men hold upon them, as are now found to the abolition of the slave trade. This consideration should both encourage the government to do its duty, independent of the popular feeling, and animate the instructors of the people, whose sense of right may in the end sway their rulers.

Art. XIV. *Saul: A Poem, in Two Parts.* By William Sotheby, Esq. 4to. pp. 190. Cadell & Davies. London, 1807.

A scriptural subject treated in blank verse unfortunately brings Milton to the thoughts of most readers; and the name of the translator of Oberon raises expectations which it is not easy to answer. This poem has certainly disappointed us. It is not very like Milton; except in the multitude of Hebrew names: and it is strikingly inferior to Mr Sotheby's other compositions, even in those points where we reckoned with certainty on improvement. There was great beauty of diction in the Oberon; and, considering the difficulty of the measure, an unusual flow and facility of versification. When we found the author writing in blank verse, therefore, we naturally looked for still greater freedom and variety of composition; and expected to be charmed with all those natural graces of expression, which are necessarily excluded, to a certain degree, by the bondage of an intricate stanza. The very reverse is the case, however, with the work now before us. Mr Sotheby's blank verse is as remarkable for harshness, constraint, and abruptness, as his stanzas were for ease and melody; and his muse, we are afraid, is like one of those old beauties, who, having been long accustomed to move gracefully in tight stays, high shoes, and hooped petticoats, feels her supports withdrawn when disencumbered of her shackles, and totters and stumbles when there are no longer any restraints on her movements.

The

The name of the poem is Saul; but the hero is David; and it contains just so much of his history, as is comprehended within the period of his first appearance as a harper before the king, and the death of that monarch. In accommodating this story to poetry, Mr Sotheby has run into two opposite excesses: he has in many places adhered to the narrative, and to the very words of the scripture so closely, as to injure both the dignity and the interest of his composition; while, on other occasions, he has departed too widely from his original, and has used a much greater license both in suppressing and in interpolating, than we can easily pardon in the case of a narrative so familiar. The work, after all, however, is the work of a poet; or at least of one who possesses poetical taste and feeling. There is delicacy and grace in many of the descriptions; a sustained tone of gentleness and piety in the sentiments; and an elaborate beauty in the diction, which frequently makes amends for the want of force and originality. The poem is divided, we do not well see why, into two parts, each consisting of four books; and each book is introduced with a proem, more or less connected with the feelings of the author or his subject. We shall now give our readers a short account of each of these books, with such specimens as we think deserving of their attention.

The first book opens with a long account of the symptoms of Saul's possession with the evil spirit. Mr Sotheby's theory of the case, though it derives no support from the scripture history, is poetical and ingenious. He supposes the unhappy king to be haunted by a spectre, which successively assumes his own form and character, as he was in the days of his shepherd innocence or aspiring youth, and tortures him with the afflicting contrast of those happy times, before he had tasted the cares of royalty, or known the pangs of remorse, for his disobedience of the divine commandment. The first form is that of a beautiful youth in shepherd weeds, who addresses the entranced monarch in these strains.

"Up from thy couch of woe, and join my path;
And I will wreath thy fav'rite crook with flow'rs.
Lo! this thy crook, which from the flinty cleft
Sprung wild, where many a gurgling streamlet fell.
Pleasant the spot wherein the sapling grew;
And pleasant was the hour, when o'er the rill
Thy fancy shap'd its pliant growth; 'twas spring:
Sweet came its fragrance from the vale beneath,
Strow'd with fresh blossoms, shed from almond bow'rs.
Still blooms the almond bow'r: the fragrance still
Floats on the gale: still gush the crystal rills,
And Cedron rolls its current musical.

Why

Why droop'st thou here disconsolate and sad?
Look up! the glad hills cast the snow aside:
The rain is past, the fresh flow'rs paint the field:
Each little bird calls to his answering mate;
The roes bound o'er the mountains. Haste away!
Up from thy couch, and join my gladsome path,
Where shepherds carol on the sunshine lawn!"
"I come, I come, fair angel." Saul exclaims.
"Give me my shepherd's weeds . . . my pipe . . . my crook;
Aid me to cast these cumbrous trappings off.
Yet stay;"—but swift at once the vision gone
Mocks him, evanishing. Groans then, and sighs,
And bitterness of anguish, such as felt
Of him, who on Helvetia's heights, a boy,
Sung to the Alpine lark; and saw, beneath,
Prone cataracts, and silver lakes, and vales
Romantic: and now paces his night-watch,
Hoar veteran, on the tented field. Not him,
Fresh slaughter fuming on the plain,—not him
The groan of death, familiar to his ear,
Disquiet: but if, haply heard, the breeze
Bring from the distant mountain low of kine,
With pipe of shepherd leading on his flock
To fold; oh then, on his remembrance rush
Those days so sweet; that roof, beneath the rock,
Which cradled him when sweeping snow-storms burst:
And those within, the peaceful household hearth,
With all its innocent pleasures. Him, far off,
Regret consumes, and inly-wasting grief,
That knows no solace, till in life's last hour,
When, o'er his gaze, in trance of bliss, once more
Helvetia and her piny summits float.' p. 8—10.

The king at last resolves to dissipate his despondence in the tumult of war, and proclaims a campaign against the Philistines. Samuel exhorts him to repentance, and predicts his discomfiture and death at Gilboa.

The second book opens with this proem.

'Fain would I turn my destin'd path, awhile
From tumult, and contention of fierce foes
In arms, and Canaan's realm clanging beneath
Th' array of battle. Other scenes delight
Me more, and draw my willing spirit forth,
In shadow, and faint imag'ry of song,
Accompanying, celestial Muse! thy course
Where Siloim's fountains flow: to seek some spot
Yet unprofan'd, where the meek Hermit chants
His orisons, and, heard at twilight breathes

The

The hymn of peace; more grateful to the bard,
Than war's loud pæan, or triumphant shouts
That echo o'er the dying. Yet, awhile,
On Sion, or lone Carmel's height, repose
My brow; and to my wistful gaze unfold,
Rude tho' the realm and desolate, the waste
Whose champaigns wild the pastoral times recal
Primeval; when the Patriarch, firm of faith,
Past from Chaldean Ur through lands unknown,
A sojourner, and pitch'd his tent, the flock
And herd beside, where'er green valley gave
Fresh pasture, or cool well the noon-thirst slak'd:
And lead me, deeply musing, to each mount
And high hill top, where patriarch fires sent up
The flame of sacrifice, and angel guests
Alighted, and Jehovah not disdain'd
Familiar converse with the sons of earth.
Ah! consecrated haunts! pure scenes of peace,
Farewell! dire strife and contest claim the song.' p. 25, 26.

He then proceeds to enumerate the army of the heathen,—Cushanites, Ammonites and Philistines,—and of the twelve tribes of Israel, drawn out in battle-order against them. The approach of Saul and his guards is about the most magnificent passage in the poem.

'Hark! hark! the clash and clang
Of shaken cymbals cadencing the pace
Of martial movement regular: the swell
Sonorous, of the brazen trump of war:
Shrill twang of harps, sooth'd by melodious chime
Of beat on silver bars: and sweet, in pause
Of harsher instrument, continuous flow
Of breath, through flutes, in symphony with song,
Choirs, whose match'd voices fill'd the air afar
With jubilee, and chant of triumph hymn:
And ever and anon irregular burst
Of loudest acclamation, to each host
Saul's stately advance proclaim'd. Before him, youths
In robes succinct for swiftness: oft they struck
Their staves against the ground, and warn'd the throng
Backward to distant homage. Next, his strength
Of chariots roll'd with each an armed band;
Earth groan'd afar beneath their iron wheels:
Part arm'd with scythe for battle, part, adorn'd
For triumph. Nor there wanting a led train
Of steeds in rich caparison, for show
Of solemn entry. Round about the King,
Warriors, his watch and ward, from every Tribe

Drawn out. Of these a thousand, each selects,
Of size and comeliness above their peers,
Pride of their race. Radiant their armour: some
In silver cas'd, scale over scale, that play'd
All pliant to the litheness of the limb:
Some, mail'd in twisted gold, link within link
Flexibly ring'd and fitted, that the eye
Beneath the yielding panoply pursued,
When act of war the strength of man provok'd,
The motion of the muscles, as they work'd
In rise and fall. On each left thigh a sword
Swung in the broider'd baldric: each right hand
Grasp'd a long shadowing spear. Like them, their chiefs
Array'd; save on their shields of solid ore,
And on their helm, the graver's toil had wrought
Its subtlety in rich device of war:
And o'er their mail, a robe, Punicean dye
Gracefully play'd: where the wing'd shuttle, shot
By cunning of Sidonian virgins, wove
Broidure of many-coloured figures rare.
Bright glow'd the sun, and bright the burnish'd mail
Of thousands, rang'd, whose pace to song kept time:
And bright the glare of spears, and gleam of crests,
And flaunt of banners flashing to and fro
The noon-day beam. Beneath their coming, earth
Wide glitter'd. Seen afar, amidst the pomp,
Gorgeously mail'd, but more by pride of port
Known, and superior stature, than rich trim
Of war and regal ornament, the King,
Thron'd in triumphal car, with trophies grac'd,
Stood eminent. The lifting of his lance
Shone like a sun-beam. O'er his armour flow'd
A robe, imperial mantle, thickly starr'd
With blaze of orient gems; the clasp that bound
Its gather'd folds his ample chest athwart,
Sapphire; and o'er his casque, where rubies burnt,
A cherub flam'd, and wav'd his wings in gold.' p. 44—46.

Then comes Goliah, whose panoply is thus faithfully described from the book of Chronicles.

'The champion's front was helmeted with brass:
Of brass his greaves: the ponderous target's strength
That spread between his shoulders, burnish'd brass:
The coat of mail that compass'd him before,
Wrought brass; five thousand shekels summ'd its weight.
His spear, the stretch of whose portended staff
Seem'd like a weaver's beam, was iron, all.' p. 52.

Saul, after running away from Goliah, is more tormented in spirit than before; and, by a needless deviation from the truth of history,

history, is now made, for the first time, to require the soothing of David's minstrelsy. He sings a sort of dull hymn: which serves the purpose, however; and goes home to his father, who sends him to seek his brothers in the camp. Here, again, Mr Sotheby makes amends for his great deviations from the original, by exactly copying the language of the Bible, where it is neither grand nor pathetic.

" Thy brethren seek, if, haply, yet alive.
Haste! to the captain of their thousand, bear
Ten cheeses, newly prest. And for my sons,
Thy brethren, take an ephah of parch'd corn,
And these ten loaves. Haste to the camp with speed:
Note how thy brethren fare, and take their pledge." p. 63.

What follows, however, as to his reception of the giant's challenge, is executed with more freedom and effect.

——————' At sight
Of the mail'd challenger, all Israel fled;
Fled all, save Jesse's son; whose spirit glow'd
Within him, and high confidence in Heav'n.
In vain the elder-born, rebuking, mock'd
His rashness. Loud again from Elah's vale
The taunting of the challenger sent up
To God defiance. To the shepherd youth
Its sound was as the call of one from Heav'n.
Nor David disobey'd. Still in their tents
Lay Israel. On the trench, as half resolv'd,
Th' uplifted lances quivering in their grasp,
Stood Jonathan and Abner:—here and there
Many a chief despondent.' p. 64.

The book ends with a brief versification of the scripture story of the death of Goliah, and the discomfiture of his people

The proem to the fourth book is an exaltation of Great Britain. We can only quote the gratulation for the abolition of the slave-trade—the noblest of all subjects for thanksgiving and joy.

——————' The West awaits
The long suspended sentence. Its decree
Goes forth. The senate shall efface the spot
That stain'd thy ermine robes. Man shall not tempt
The mercy of his Maker on vext seas
That bear him on to blood. Man shall not yoke
His brother; shall not goad his kindred flesh,
Till the big sweat falls, tainted with the drop
That nurtur'd life. Man trades no more in man.
And if the groan of Afric yet mount up
To the tribunal of the God of Love,
Accusing human kind, it shall not draw
On Britain condemnation. Then expand,

Albion, thy sails, exultant; and diffuse,
Throughout the race and brotherhood of man,
The birthright thou hast purchas'd with thy blood,
The heritage of freedom. Freight each sea
With burden of thy fleets: from clime to clime
Pour forth on each the gifts of all, and link
The world in bonds of love. Diffuse the light
Of science; teach the savage arts unknown;
And o'er the nations and lone isles, that sit
In darkness, and the shades of death, bring down
The day-spring of salvation.' p. 78, 79.

The poet then introduces the song of the virgins celebrating the victory. This, we think, is rendered with considerable spirit.

"Daughters of Israel! praise the Lord of Hosts!
Break into song! with harp and tabret lift
Your voices up, and weave with joy the dance.
And to your twinkling footsteps, toss aloft
Your arms: and from the flash of cymbals, shake
Sweet clangor, measuring the giddy maze.
Shout ye! and ye! make answer, Saul hath slain
His thousands; David his ten thousands slain.
Sing a new song. I saw them in their rage,
I saw the gleam of spears, the flash of swords,
That rang against our gates. The warder's watch
Ceas'd not. Tower answer'd tower; a warning voice
Was heard without; the cry of woe within:
The shriek of virgins, and the wail of her,
The mother, in her anguish, who fore-wept,
Wept at the breast her babe, as now no more.
Shout ye! and ye! make answer, Saul hath slain
His thousands; David his ten thousands slain.
Sing a new song. Spake not th' insulting foe?
I will pursue, o'ertake, divide the spoil.
My hand shall dash their infants on the stones:
The ploughshare of my vengeance shall draw out
The furrow, where the tower and fortress rose.
Before my chariot, Israel's chiefs shall clank
Their chains. Each side, their virgin daughters groan:
Erewhile, to weave my conquest on their looms.
Shout ye! and ye! make answer, Saul hath slain
His thousands; David his ten thousands slain.
Thou heard'st, oh God of battle! Thou, whose look
Knappeth the spear in sunder. In thy strength
A youth, thy chosen, laid their champion low.
Saul, Saul pursues, o'ertakes, divides the spoil:
Wreaths round our necks these chains of gold, and robes
Our limbs with floating crimson. Then rejoice,

Daughters

Daughters of Israel! from your cymbals shake
Sweet clangor, hymning God, the Lord of Hosts!
Ye! shout! and ye! make answer, Saul hath slain
His thousands; David his ten thousands slain.
Such the hymn'd harmony, from voices breath'd
Of virgin minstrels, of each Tribe the prime
For beauty, and fine form, and artful touch
Of instrument, and skill in dance and song;
Choir answering choir, that on to Gibeah led
The victors back in triumph. On each neck
Play'd chains of gold; and, shadowing their charms
With colour like the blushes of the morn,
Robes, gift of Saul, round their light limbs, in toss
Of cymbals, and the many-mazed dance,
Floated like roseate clouds. Thus these came on
In dance and song: Then, multitudes that swell'd
The pomp of triumph, and in circles, rang'd
Around the altar of Jehovah, brought
Freely their offerings: and with one accord
Sang, "Glory, and praise, and worship unto God."
Loud rang the exultation. 'Twas the voice
Of a free people, from impending chains
Redeem'd: a people proud, whose bosom beat
With fire of glory, and renown in arms,
Triumphant. Loud the exultation rang.
There, many a wife, whose ardent gaze from far
Singled the warrior, whose glad eye gave back
Her look of love. There, many a grandsire held
A blooming boy aloft, and midst the array
In triumph, pointing with his staff, exclaim'd,
"Lo, my brave son! I now may die in peace."
There, many a beauteous virgin, blushing deep,
Flung back her veil, and, as the warrior came,
Hail'd her betroth'd. But, chiefly, on one alone
All dwelt.' p. 81—84.

Saul is filled with jealousy and envy, and secretly vows the death of the youthful warrior, who, unconscious of his danger, gives God the glory in another hymn.

The second part is introduced with a vision of old Palestine; and proceeds to the description of Saul's obstinate hostility, and the love of Michal and Jonathan toward their young deliverer. In the second book, he wins the hand of Michal by his victories over the Philistines; and is again forced to retreat into the wilderness, from the hatred of his father-in-law. Samuel anoints him King of Israel; and he sees, in a pretty tedious vision, the whole line of his descendants, with their exploits, from Solomon to our Redeemer. The idea of this anticipation was probably

borrowed from the Davideis of Cowley; who took it again from the end of the sixth Æneid. It is not well executed by either of the moderns. It ends, in Mr Sotheby, with a prophetic hymn, celebrating the advent of our Saviour.

The third book opens with an address to friendship. It then describes the death of Samuel,—the covenant of love between Jonathan and David,—and the retreat of the latter for refuge to the city of the Philistines. On the way Mr Sotheby indulges him with an interview with his wife Michal, who is travelling in a chariot at night, escorted by a detachment of Saul's guards. This lady is described, throughout, as the most gentle and affectionate of human beings; and we have no hint either of her second marriage, or of her ill-natured taunts to her husband on his vigorous dancing before the Lord. When he gets to Gath, instead of fighting for king Achish, as the Chronicles represent him, Mr Sotheby condemns the young Psalmist to be burned as a select victim at the shrine of Moloch; and after a long description of the temple and rites of that deity and of Ashtaroth, he makes a miraculous earthquake swallow up the idol and the worshippers, and leave the pious Hebrew free and unmolested. One of the richest and most poetical passages in the book, is the description of the mystic veil which concealed the shrine of Ashtaroth; though the author is in a good measure indebted for his double picture of Thammuz to Darwin's description of Adonis, and of the imagery of the Portland Vase.

——————— 'Before
Its porch a curtain fell, embroider'd web
Of Tyre. In midst, a mystic orb, inwrought,
Half-sun, half-moon. Its broad circumference hung
Pois'd, where a wavy shadow ran athwart,
Severing the veil in twain. The upper limb,
And all above, as by its light illum'd,
Blaz'd in the radiance bright of burnish'd gold.
All forms of life there gather'd, and each form
Glow'd, full of life. The eagle soar'd aloft
On balanc'd wing: the steed, in stretch of race:
The kid danc'd wanton on fresh-springing flow'rs:
The green tree budded, and the bright rill flow'd.
Midst these, in bloom of beauty, from the shades
Thammuz ascendant. In his hand, a spear
Pois'd, ere yet lanc'd. O'er him, in air, suspense,
A goddess hung, and in his lips inbreath'd
The spirit of life and love. Above, appear'd
Gods, gay at feast. The lower limb, and all
Beneath its influence, seem'd with night o'ercast;
If night that may be nam'd, wherein each form

In

In silver wrought, shone plainly vision'd forth:
But pale in the comparison of gold,
All shone: but 'twas the shining of the moon,
Faint image of the sun. Each figure bore
Similitude of languor and decay.
There, Humankind sunk down in senseless swoon,
Half-life, half-death. On the herbless plain, the steed
Lay panting. There, the kid, in act to fall,
Hung o'er the sere flow'r, withering 'neath his foot.
The eagle clos'd his eye, and folded in
Each feather smooth: low cow'r'd his crest, and gleams
Soft flow'd along his glossy back, uprais'd
In heave of slumber. There, the leafless tree
Droop'd; and what water seem'd, stood icy still.
In midst of these, Sidonian skill had wrought
The form of Thammuz, bending o'er his wound
Whence the large life-drops struggled. At his feet
A bow was broken, and its shaft in twain.
Near him a boar his blood-stain'd tusk uprais'd.
There bent the form of Thammuz: but, below,
His spirit, like a shadow, gliding on,
In guidance of a minister of death,
With ringlets shorn, and torch extinct, sank down
To Hades, and the unembodied shades.' p. 158—160.

The last book opens with an address to the Muse, in which the following lines, we think, are striking.

'How oft, when Autumn, in the bleak gale rent
His robe, all colours, as the last leaves sere
Fell, have I lingering bade with thee the year
Farewell! and with enchanted gaze pursu'd
The broad illuminations, and deep shades,
That chas'd each other, o'er the champaign wide;
And striking in their stretch of speed, the woods
And high hill tops, brought out, like magic, change
Of momentary scenes.—My lay, ere long,
Will cease! I pause upon the closing strain.
A little while, and ye, fair visions pure,
That people the wild solitude, and make
The pathless woodlands echo with my song,
Will cease your inspiration! Haunts of peace!
Where underneath, the hush'd winds murmuring,
I wont through leafy labyrinths to wind
The summer day, and shape, as fancy prompts,
My tuneful meditations.' p. 172.

The warlike exploits of David, and his alliance with Achish, are passed over in silence by Mr Sotheby, as well as the adven-

ture of cutting off Saul's skirt. However, the taking away of the spear, and sparing his life at Engeddi, is very well told. Saul's visit to the witch of Endor, is described in the very words of the Bible.

" I entreat thee, at my pray'r divine
By the familiar spirit, and bring up
Him whom I name."—
" Thou know'st: what need to tell?
How from the living land Saul has cut off
Such as I am. Com'st thou to snare my life?"
Each word the sorceress spake, fell on Saul's heart
At length: " So thou consent, and whom I name
Bring up, I swear, witness the Lord! for this,
Vengeance shall not o'ertake thee."
" Name the man."
" Samuel the Prophet."
——— And the prophet rose.
The sorceress, at his rising, with loud cry
Shriek'd out, " Thou hast deceiv'd me: thou art Saul."
" Fear not; declare, what view'st thou?"
" I behold
Gods out of earth ascending."
" What the form?"
" The form of one in years comes up, with veil
O'ermantled."
Saul perceiv'd it was the Seer,
Stoop'd, and low bow'd his forehead to the ground.
" Why hast thou thus disquieted, and brought
My spirit from its rest?"
Saul answering said,
" Oh, I am sore distrest. Philistia's host
Gathers against me. Terror fills the realm,
God is departed from me, nor vouchsafes
Answer by dream or prophet. Therefore, Seer,
Thus, I have call'd on thee."
" Wherefore on me,
If God is clean departed, and become
Thy foe? What God by me foretold, is done;
Thy kingdom from thee rent. In David's rule
Thy sceptre. For that thou, oh man, didst scorn
Obedience to Jehovah, thee and thine,
And Israel's army, into hostile hands
God has deliver'd." p. 183–5.

The catastrophe of Saul, and the song of his successor over him and Jonathan, are in like manner versified almost literally from the Chronicles; and the poem ends with this brief moralization.

' Thus

'Thus the Lord
From land to land, throughout the regions, spread
The fame of his anointed:—and his fear
Fell on all nations.
Man! obey thy God!' p. 190.

From the copious extracts which we have given, our readers will be able to judge for themselves of the merits of this performance. There is sweetness and delicacy in many passages; and an air of elegance throughout; but it is deficient in animation, in characters, and in action. Its beauties belong rather to pastoral and lyric poetry, than to epic; and are scarcely calculated to strike with sufficient force to command the attention of this fastidious age. The work, however, is respectable, and cannot be perused without giving us a very pleasing impression of the character and virtues of the author.

ART. XV. *The Nature of Things: A Didactic Poem. Translated from the Latin of Titus Lucretius Carus, accompanied with the Original Text, and Illustrated with Notes Philological and Explanatory.* By John Mason Good. 2 vol. 4to. pp. 1180. Longman, London, 1805.

THESE vast volumes are more like the work of a learned German professor, than of an ungraduated Englishman. They display extensive erudition, considerable judgment, and some taste; yet, upon the whole, they are extremely heavy and uninteresting, and the leading emotion they excite in the reader, is that of sympathy with the fatigue the author must have undergone in the compilation. They contain, first of all, a most learned preface, giving an account of all the editions of Lucretius, and all the versions which have been made of him into modern languages; then a life of this author, dilated, by biographical sketches of all his ancestors and famous contemporaries, and of the state of literature in the antient world, into upwards of eighty closely printed pages; and this, again, is followed by an appendix of thirty pages more, containing a long analysis and defence of the system of Epicurus; a comparative view of all the other antient systems of philosophy; and a short deduction from these, of all the celebrated theories of modern times, from the nominalism of Abelard, to the transcendentalism of Kant. Then comes the original text of Lucretius, correctly printed from Mr Wakefield's edition, with Mr Good's translation in blank verse on the opposite page; and underneath, a vast and most indigested mass of notes, exhibiting not only a copious collection of parallel passages, and alleged imitations, in Hebrew,

Hebrew, Persian, Arabic, Greek, Latin, German, Spanish, Italian, French and English, but an incredible quantity of incidental criticism and dissertation upon every possible variety of subject,—metaphysics, manufactures, medicine, ethics, wool-dressing, generation, government, husbandry and engineering. The mere description of such a commentary, is enough to give our readers an alarming idea of Mr Good's industry and the extent of his reading; and when we add to this, that he neither reasons nor writes very ill upon most of the subjects he discusses, we shall probably give an impression of the work something more favourable than we can conscientiously agree to sanction. The truth is, that Mr Good, though very intelligent, is very indiscriminate in the selection of his information; and though, for the most part, sufficiently candid and judicious in his remarks, is at the same time intolerably dull and tedious. He has no vivacity; no delicacy of taste or fancy; very little originality; and a gift of extreme prolixity. His prose is better than his poetry; his reasonings are more to be trusted to than his criticism; and his statements and explanations are of more value than his argument. We can afford to give but short specimens of his multifarious labours; but in a work of this magnitude it is fair that our readers should be enabled, in some degree, to judge for themselves.

In writing the life of the poet, it certainly was scarcely necessary for Mr Good to inform his readers, 'that, immediately upon the expulsion of the Tarquins, Spurius Lucretius was unanimously chosen *interrex*, or king for the time being,' or to give an account of the library of Appellicon, or the labours of Sylla in correcting the text of Aristotle. Some mention of Greek literature, however, was natural; and as Lucretius appears to have studied at Athens, the following elaborate encomium on that seat of learning is not perhaps altogether out of place.

'But the literature of Greece was, nevertheless, best to be acquired in Greece itself; and the Romans, though they transplanted books, could not transplant the general taste and spirit that produced them. Athens, although considerably shorn of the glory of her original constitution, and dependent upon Rome for protection, had still to boast of her schools, her scholars, and her libraries. Every scene, every edifice, every conversation was a living lecture of taste and elegance. Here was the venerable grove in which Plato had unfolded his sublime mysteries to enraptured multitudes: here the awful lyceum, in which Aristotle had anatomized the springs of human intellect and action: here the porch of Zeno, still erect and stately as its founder: and here the learned shades and winding walks, in which Epicurus had delineated the origin and NATURE OF THINGS, and inculcated tranquillity and temperance: and here too was the vast and magnificent library that Pisistratus first established, and endowed for the gratuitous use of his countrymen.

countrymen. Here Homer sung, and Apelles painted: here Sophocles had drawn tears of tenderness, and Demosthenes fired the soul to deeds of heroism and patriotic revenge. The monuments of every thing great or glorious, dignified or refined, virtuous or worthy, were still existing at Athens: and she had still philosophers to boast of, who were capable of elucidating the erudition that blazed forth more conspicuously in her earlier ages of independence.' I. xxix. xxx.

This piece of biography, which of itself, would fill a moderate volume, contains, we think, about three authenticated passages: one is, that Lucretius studied at Athens; another is, that he lived a retired life, and did not mingle in the political contentions of his age; a third is, that he had a wife, or a mistress, of the name of Lucilia; and the last is, that he became insane, and destroyed himself at the age of forty-four. Whether his madness was brought on by grief for the banishment of his friend Memmius, or by the unlucky operation of a love potion administered by Lucilia, is much and learnedly disputed by Eusebius, Giffenius, and Mr Good, who of course, prefers the former and more creditable supposition.

We cannot undertake to give our readers even a specimen of the profundities that are discussed in the life and the appendix. They contain, among other things, a resolute defence of materialism, and of almost every particular tenet of the school of Epicurus. Mr Good has given, however, a very clear and accurate summary of the atomical philosophy of that teacher, which we shall beg leave to extract, as by far the most consistent and masterly account we have ever met with of that comprehensive system.

'In its mere *physical* contemplation, the theory of Epicurus allows of nothing but matter and space, which are equally infinite and unbounded, which have equally existed from all eternity, and from different combinations of which every individual being is created. These existences have no property in common with each other; for, whatever matter is, that space is the reverse of; and whatever space is, matter is the contrary to. The actually solid parts of all bodies, therefore, are matter; their actual pores, space; and the parts which are not altogether solid, but an intermixture of solidity and pore, are space and matter combined. Anterior to the formation of the universe, space and matter existed uncombined, or in their pure and elementary state. Space, in its elementary state, is positive and unsolid void: matter, in its elementary state, consists of inconceivably minute seeds or atoms—so small, that the corpuscles of vapour, light, and heat, are compounds of them; and so solid, that they cannot possibly be broken, or made smaller, by any concussion or violence whatever. The express figure of these primary atoms is various: there are round, square, pointed, jagged, as well as many other shapes. These shapes, however, are not diversified to infinity; but the atoms, themselves,

themselves, of each existent shape, are infinite or innumerable. Every atom is possessed of certain intrinsic powers of motion. Under the old school of Democritus, the perpetual motions exhibited were of two kinds:—a descending motion, from its own gravity; and a rebounding motion, from mutual concussion. Besides these two motions, and to explain certain phenomena which the following poem develops, and which were not accounted for under the old system, Epicurus supposed that some atoms were occasionally possessed of a third, by which, in some very small degree, they descended in an oblique or curvilinear direction, deviating from the common and right line anomalously; and hence, in this respect, resembling the oscillations of the magnetic needle.

'These infinitudes of atoms, flying immemorially in such different directions, through all the immensity of space, have interchangeably tried and exhibited every possible mode of action,—sometimes repelled from each other by concussion,—and sometimes adhering to each other from their own jagged or pointed construction, or from the casual interstices which two or more connected atoms must produce, and which may just be adapted to those of other configurations, as globular, oval or square. Hence the origin of compound bodies; hence the origin of immense masses of matter; hence, eventually, the origin of the world itself. When these primary atoms are closely compacted together, and but little vacuity or space intervenes, they produce those kinds of substances which we denominate solid, as stones, and metals: when they are loose and disjoined, and a large quantity of space or vacuity occurs between them, they produce the phenomena of wool, water, vapour. In one mode of combination, they form earth; in another, air; and in another, fire. Arranged in one way, they produce vegetation and irritability; in another way, animal life and perception. Man hence arises—families are formed—society multiplies, and governments are instituted.

'The world, thus generated, is perpetually sustained by the application of fresh elementary atoms, flying with inconceivable rapidity through all the infinitude of space, invisible from their minuteness, and occupying the posts of all those that are as perpetually flying off. Yet, nothing is eternal and immutable but these elementary seeds or atoms themselves: the compound forms of matter are continually decompounding, and dissolving into their original corpuscles: to this there is no exception:—minerals, vegetables, and animals, in this respect all alike, when they lose their present configuration, perishing from existence for ever, and new combinations proceeding from the matter into which they dissolve. But the world itself is a compound, though not an organized being; sustained and nourished like organized beings from the material pabulum that floats through the void of infinity. The world itself must therefore, in the same manner, perish: it had a beginning, and it will eventually have an end. Its present crasis will be decompounded: it will return to its original, its elementary atoms; and new worlds will arise from its destruction.

'Space

'Space is infinite, material atoms are infinite, but the world is not infinite. This, then, is not the only world, or the only material system that exists. The cause whence this visible system originated is competent to produce others; it has been acting perpetually from all eternity; and there are other worlds and other systems of worlds existing around us. In the vast immensity of space, there are also other beings than man, possessed of powers of intellect and enjoyment far superior to our own: beings who existed before the formation of the world, and will exist when the world shall perish for ever; whose happiness flows unlimited, and unallayed; and whom the tumults and passions of gross matter can never agitate. These, the founder of the system denominated gods:—not that they created the universe, or are possessed of a power of upholding it; for they are finite and created beings themselves, and endowed alone with finite capacities and powers;—but from the uninterrupted beatitude and tranquillity they enjoy, their everlasting freedom from all anxiety and care.' I. cviii.—cxi.

Some such abstract as this, indeed, we conceive to be altogether indispensable to every English reader who may have courage to venture upon this translation. The system is not developed in the original with any extraordinary regard to method or perspicuity; and we must say for Mr Good's prose, that it is infinitely more luminous, as well as more harmonious, than the greater part of his verse.

The poetical merits of Lucretius have been a good deal obscured by the faults of his philosophy, and still more by their injudicious application to a system of so intricate and comprehensive a nature. It has been said of him, that when he put on the philosopher, he put off the poet; and laid aside his philosophy, in like manner, when he chose to be poetical. It would have been better for his reputation, in both capacities, if this had been true,—if he had reserved his poetry for episodes and introductions, and confined himself, in the body of the work, to an argumentative exposition of his system, which might have been in verse, without any disadvantage. But the boldness of his genius, his unfeigned enthusiasm for the subject he had undertaken, and the immature state of the critical and poetical art among his countrymen, effectually excluded such a distribution; and led him to encumber and embellish his reasonings with tender, sublime, and fanciful illustrations, while his genius was perpetually recalled from its flights by the details and intricacies of his philosophy. His work, therefore, is extremely unequal, and, in many places, insufferably tedious and fatiguing. But it is full of genius; and contains more poetry, we are inclined to think, than any other production of the Latin muse. With less skill—less uniform propriety—and less sustained dignity than Virgil, it has always appeared to us, that he had more natural genius

genius and original spirit; that his diction in his happier passages was sweeter and more impressive; and all the movements of his mind more free, simple, and energetic. His latinity is beautiful; and a certain mixture of obsolete expressions gives it an antique air that is very interesting. These are the chief merits of the work; and certainly they are not to be found in every part of it: yet it has an interest of another kind, which would be lost, if it were reduced to a collection of choice passages. From the great extent of the subject, and the infinite variety and miscellaneous nature of the illustrations, it presents us with a more lively and comprehensive picture of the state of the arts and sciences at the time of its composition, and of the way of thinking and arguing that was then in fashion, than any other work which has come down to us of the same period.

But though, for all these reasons, we would recommend the study of Lucretius to all who have any relish for antient learning, we can scarcely say that it gave us any pleasure to hear that a new attempt had been made to introduce him to the English reader. There is no poet, perhaps, so difficult to translate happily. His graceful, pure, simple, and melodious diction, could scarcely be transfused into another language; and there is an occasional tenderness and delicacy in his finer passages, which must defy the imitation of any one who could toil through his philosophy. Then the philosophy itself, occupying three fourths of the poem, is wholly insufferable to a modern reader: and to preserve the semblance of verse, without an entire sacrifice of perspicuity or coherence, must be more difficult than to put Homer's catalogue into harmonious couplets.

To say that Mr Good has failed to make an interesting English poem out of the work of Lucretius, would only be saying that he had not wrought an impossibility. But we are afraid he has more than this to answer for; and that he is chargeable with a pretty considerable share of the *ennui* and perplexity, the giddiness and intellectual lassitude which we encountered in our perusal of his two huge quartos. His pace in verse, we are compelled to say, is very heavy and shuffling. He has some strength, but no grace or spirit; and neither catches the fire, nor copies the elegance of his original. The grave, dignified, and sententious passages, are those he manages most tolerably;—the noble and magnificent, he tames and subdues completely;—the tender and mellifluous, he makes stiff and ordinary;—and the common argumentative ones, he contrives to rob of their only merit, by the use of a pompous and obscure diction, which effectually conceals the simplicity and precision of the original statement. It appears to us, also, that he has sometimes mistaken the sense of his author; and we are positive that he has often expressed it most

most imperfectly. We shall now give a few specimens, both of his failures and successes.

One of the most splendid passages in the original, is that part of the invocation to Venus, where she is represented as holding the god of battles in her embraces.

'Quo magis æternum da dictis, Diva, leporem.
Efice, ut interea fera mœnera militiaï,
Per maria ac terras omneis, sopita, quiescant.
Nam tu sola potes tranquillâ pace juvare
Mortaleis: quoniam belli fera mœnera Mavors
Armipotens regit, in gremium qui sæpe tuum se
Rejicit, æterno devictus volnere amoris:
Atque ita, suspiciens tereti cervice repostâ,
Pascit amore avidos, inhians in te, Dea, visus;
Eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore.
Hunc tu, Diva, tuo recubantem corpore sancto
Circumfusa super, suaveis ex ore loquelas
Funde, petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem.
Nam neque nos agere hoc patriaï tempore iniquo
Possumus æquo animo; nec Memmii clara propago
Talibus in rebus communi deesse saluti.' I. 14, 16, 18.

Of this beautiful picture, Mr Good presents us with the following indifferent copy.

'Then, O, vouchsafe thy favour, power divine!
And with immortal eloquence inspire.
Quell, too, the fury of the hostile world,
And lull to peace, that all the strain may hear.
For peace is thine: on thy soft bosom he,
The warlike field who sways, almighty Mars,
Struck by triumphant Love's eternal wound,
Reclines full frequent: with uplifted gaze
On thee he feeds his longing, ling'ring eyes,
And all his soul hangs quiv'ring from thy lips.
O! while thine arms in fond embraces clasp
His panting members, sov'reign of the heart!
Ope thy bland voice, and intercede for Rome.
For, while th' unsheathed sword is brandish'd, vain
And all unequal is the poet's song;
And vain the attempt to claim his patron's ear.' I. 15–19.

The following sketch of the dæmon of Superstition has infinite spirit and sublimity in the original.

'Humana ante oculos fede quom vita jaceret
In terris, obpressa gravi sub Religione;
Quæ caput a cœli regionibus obtendebat,
Horribili super adspectu mortalibus instans;
Primum Graius homo mortaleis tollere contra
Est oculos ausus, primusque obsistere contra:
Quem neque fama deûm, nec fulmina, nec minitanti

Murmur

Murmure compressit cœlum; sed eo magis acrem
Inritât animi virtutem, effringere ut arta
Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.
Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
Processit longe flammantia mœnia mundi;
Atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque:'

which Mr Good has thus rendered.

——'Them long the tyrant power
Of Superstition sway'd, uplifting proud
Her head to heaven, and with horrific limbs
Brooding o'er earth; till he, the man of Greece,
Auspicious rose, who first the combat dar'd,
And broke in twain the monster's iron rod.
No thunder him, no fell revenge pursu'd
Of heaven incens'd, or deities in arms.
Urg'd rather, hence, with more determin'd soul,
To burst through Nature's portals, from the crowd
With jealous caution clos'd; the flaming walls
Of heaven to scale, and dart his dauntless eye,
Till the vast whole beneath him stood display'd.' I. 22–25.

Now, this is not only feeble, but extremely licentious. In the first place, we have always understood that the poet meant to lodge his whole spectre in the clouds; at least there is nothing in the original about 'brooding o'er earth with horrific limbs;' and still less about a 'combat,' or 'breaking an iron rod.' In the next place, we conceive that Mr Good has misrepresented the meaning of the lines, 'Quem neque fana deûm,' &c. which we conceive to be, not that he escaped the vengeance of the gods, but that *he was not deterred* by the awe of their temples, or the sound of the thunder, from inquiring into the mysteries of nature.

We give the whole translation of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, as a fair specimen of Mr Good's qualifications for the task he has undertaken.

'Nor deem the truths Philosophy reveals
Corrupt the mind, or prompt to impious deeds.
No: Superstition may, and nought so soon,
But Wisdom never. Superstition 'twas
Urg'd the fell Grecian chiefs, with virgin blood,
To stain the virgin altar. Barbarous deed!
And fatal to their laurels! Aulis saw,
For there Diana reigns, the unholy rite.
Around she look'd; the pride of Grecian maids,
The lovely Iphigenia, round she look'd,—
Her lavish tresses, spurning still the bond
Of sacred fillet, flaunting o'er her cheeks,—
And sought, in vain, protection. She survey'd
Near her, her sad, sad sire; th' officious priests

Repentant

Repentant half, and hiding their keen steel,
And crowds of gazers weeping as they view'd.
Dumb with alarm, with supplicating knee,
And lifted eye, she sought compassion still;
Fruitless and unavailing: vain her youth,
Her innocence, and beauty; vain the boast
Of regal birth; and vain that first herself
Lisp'd the dear name of Father, eldest born.
Forc'd from her suppliant posture, straight she view'd
The altar full prepar'd: not there to blend
Connubial vows, and light the bridal torch;
But, at the moment when mature in charms,
While Hymen call'd aloud, to fall, e'en then,
A father's victim, and the price to pay
Of Grecian navies, favour'd thus with gales.—
Such are the crimes that Superstition prompts!' I. 25–31.

Nothing can be more loose, or more unlike the *manner* of Lucretius, than the introductory lines of this version. The ten lines after 'Th' officious priests,' are not without merit; but the close is mean and ungraceful.

The introductory lines to the second book, '*Suave, mari magno,*' &c. are presented to the English reader in this cold and spiritless translation.

'How sweet to stand, when tempests tear the main,
On the firm cliff, and mark the seaman's toil!
Not that another's danger sooths the soul,
But from such toil how sweet to feel secure!
How sweet, at distance from the strife, to view
Contending hosts, and hear the clash of war!
But sweeter far on Wisdom's heights serene,
Upheld by Truth, to fix our firm abode:
To watch the giddy crowd that, deep below,
For ever wander in pursuit of bliss;
To mark the strife for honours, and renown,
For wit and wealth insatiate, ceaseless urg'd,
Day after day, with labour unrestrain'd.' I. 181.–183.

The beautiful passage which has been so often imitated, '*Si non aurea sunt juvenum simulacra,*' &c. is given with more fidelity; and is, upon the whole, a very favourable specimen of Mr Good's execution.

'What though the dome be wanting, whose proud walls
A thousand lamps irradiate, propt sublime
By frolic forms of youths in massy gold,
Flinging their splendours o'er the midnight feast;
Though gold and silver blaze not o'er the board,
Nor music echo round the gaudy roof?
Yet, listless, laid the velvet grass along

Near gliding streams, by shadowy trees o'er-arch'd,
Such pomps we need not; such still less when spring
Leads forth her laughing train, and the warm year
Paints the green meads with roseate flowers profuse.
On down reclin'd, or wrapp'd in purple robe,
The thirsty fever burns with heat as fierce
As when its victim on a pallet pants.
Since, then, nor wealth, nor splendour, nor the boast
Of birth illustrious, nor e'en regal state
Avails the body, so the free-born mind
Their aid as little asks. Unless, perchance,
The warlike host, thou deem, for thee array'd
In martial pomp, and o'er the fiery field
Panting for glory; and the gorgeous fleet,
For thee unmoor'd, and ardent,—can dispel
Each superstitious terror; from the breast
Root out the dread of death, and lull to peace
The cares, the tumults that distrac. hy soul.
But if all this be idle, if the CARES,
The TERRORS still that haunt and harass man,
Dread not the din of arms,—o'er kings and chiefs,
Press unabash'd, unaw'd by glittering pomp,
The purple robe unheeding—*canst thou doubt*
Man pants for these from poverty of mind,
Wand'ring in darkness and through life misled?
For as the boy, when midnight veils the skies,
Trembles, and starts at all things, so, full oft,
E'en in the noon men start at forms as void
Of real danger, as the phantoms false
By darkness conjur'd, and the schoolboy's dread.
A terror this the radiant darts of day
Can ne'er disperse: to truth's pure light alone,
And wisdom yielding, *intellectual suns.*' I. 187–193.

This, upon the whole, is good. The line we have marked in italics, 'Canst thou doubt,' &c. seems, however, to be a false translation of '*Quid dubitas, quin omnis sit hæc rationis potestas?* which means merely, we conceive, 'Canst thou doubt that reason alone possesses this power'—of banishing such cares and anxieties? There is nothing in the original to justify the interpolation of the two concluding words.

The following lines have much of the force and character of the original

'Yet man's first sons, as o'er the fields they trod,
Rear'd from the hardy earth, were hardier far;
Strong built, with ampler bones, with muscles nerv'd
Broad and substantial; to the power of heat,
Of cold, of varying viands, and disease,

Each

Each hour superior; the wild lives of beasts
Leading, while many a lustre o'er them roll'd,
Nor crooked ploughshare knew they, nor to drive,
Deep through the soil, the rich returning spade;
Nor how the tender seedling to replant,
Nor from the fruit-tree prune the wither'd branch
What showers bestow'd, what earth spontaneous bore,
And suns matur'd, their craving breasts appeas'd.
But acorn-meals chief cull'd they from the shade
Of forest-oaks; and, in their wintry months,
The wild wood-whortle with its purple fruit
Fed them, then larger and more amply pour'd.
And many a boon besides, now long extinct,
The fresh-form'd earth her hapless offspring dealt.
Then floods, and fountains, too, their thirst to slake,
Call'd them, as now the cataract abrupt
Calls, when athirst, the desert's savage tribes.
And, through the night still wand'ring, they the caves
Throng'd of the wood-nymphs, whence the babbling well
Gush'd oft profuse, and down its pebbly sides,
Its pebbly sides with verdant moss o'erspread,
Ooz'd slow, or sought, redundant sought, the plains.'

II. 353—357.

And immediately after,

'And in their keen rapidity of hand
And foot confiding, oft the savage train
With missile stones they haunted, or the force
Of clubs enormous; many a tribe they fell'd,
Yet some in caves shunn'd, cautious; where, at night,
Throng'd they, like bristly swine; their naked limbs
With herbs and leaves entwining. Nought of fear
Urg'd them to quit the darkness, and recal,
With clam'rous cries, the sun-shine and the day:
But sound, they sunk in deep, oblivious sleep,
Till o'er the mountains blush'd the roseate dawn.
Yet then scarce more of mortal race than now
Left the sweet lustre of the liquid day.
Some, doubtless, oft the prowling monsters gaunt
Grasp'd in their jaws, abrupt; whence, through the groves,
The woods, the mountains, they vociferous groan'd,
Destin'd thus living to a living tomb.
And some by flight though sav'd from present fate,
Cov'ring their fetid ulcers with their hands,
Prone o'er the ground death still, with horrid voice,
Call'd, till vile worms devour'd them, void of aid,
And all-unskill'd their deadly pangs t'appease.
But thousands, then, the pomps of war beneath,
Fell not at once; nor ocean's boist'rous waves

Wreck'd, o'er rough rocks, whole fleets and countless crews.
Nor Ocean then, though oft to frenzy wrought,
Could aught indulge but ineffectual ire:
Nor, lull'd to calms, could e'er his traitor face
Lead, o'er the laughing waves, mistrustful man,
Untaught the dangerous science of the seas.
Then want consum'd their languid members; now,
Full gorg'd, excess devours us: they themselves
Fed, heedless, oft with poisons; often still
Men now for others mix the fatal cup.' II. 359—363.

The lofty and indignant passage, beginning, '*Nec pietas ulla est velatum,*' &c. is rendered at least with strength and fidelity by Mr Good.

'No:—it can ne'er be piety to turn
To stocks and stones with deep-veil'd visage; light
O'er every altar incense; o'er the dust
Fall prostrate, and, with outstretch'd arms, invoke
Through every temple every god that reigns,
Sooth them with blood, and lavish vows on vows.
This rather thou term piety, to mark
With calm untrembling soul, each scene ordain'd.
For when, we doubtful, heaven's high arch survey,
The firm, fixt, ether, star emboss'd, and pause
O'er the sun's path, and pale, meand'ring moon,
Then superstitious cares, erewhile represt
By cares more potent, lift their hydra-head.' II. 391.

The sweetness of the lines '*(At liquidas avium voces,*' &c.), describing the origin of music, and the festivals of primitive men, is lost indeed in the imitation of Mr Good; but his version is respectable, and conveys a true, though a dim reflection of the original.

'And from the liquid warblings of the birds
Learn'd they their first rude notes, ere music yet
To the rapt ear had tun'd the measur'd verse;
And Zephyr, whisp'ring through the hollow reeds,
Taught the first swains the hollow reeds to sound:
When woke they soon those tender-trembling tones
Which the sweet pipe, when by the fingers prest,
Pours o'er the hills, the vales, and woodlands wild,
Haunts of lone shepherds, and the rural gods.
So growing time points, ceaseless, something new,
And human skill evolves it into day.
Thus sooth'd they every care, with music, thus,
Clos'd every meal, for rests the bosom then.
And oft they threw them on the velvet grass,
Near gliding streams by shadowy trees o'er-arch'd,
And, void of costly wealth, found still the means

To

To gladden life. But chief when genial spring
Led forth her laughing train, and the young year
Painted the meads with roseate flowers profuse—
Then mirth, and wit, and wiles, and frolic, chief,
Flow'd from the heart; for then the rustic muse
Warmest inspir'd them: then lascivious sport
Taught round their heads, their shoulders, taught to twine
Foliage, and flowers, and garlands richly dight;
To loose, innum'rous time their limbs to move,
And beat, with sturdy foot, maternal earth;
With many a smile, and many a laughter loud,
Told all was new, and wondrous much esteem'd.
Thus wakeful liv'd they, cheating of its rest
The drowsy midnight; with the jocund dance
Mixing gay converse, madrigals, and strains
Run o'er the reeds with broad recumbent lip:
As, wakeful still, our revellers through night
Lead on their defter dance to time precise;
Yet cull not costlier sweets, with all their art,
Than the rude offspring earth in woodlands bore.' II. 415-19.

Mr Good translates right through the whole fourth book; and illustrates his version with notes not less intrepid. We shall only venture one inoffensive passage, which has been imitated by all amatory poets of latter date.

'Then, too, his form consumes, the cares of love
Waste all his vigour, and his days roll on
In vilest bondage. Amply though endow'd
His wealth decays, his debts with speed augment,
The post of duty never fills he more,
And all his sick'ning reputation dies.
Meanwhile rich unguents from his mistress laugh;
Laugh from her feet, soft Sicyon's shoes superb:
The green-ray'd emerald o'er her, dropt in gold,
Gleams large and numerous; and the sea-blue silk,
Deep-worn, enclasps her, with the moisture drunk
Of constant revels. All his fires amass'd
Now flaunts in ribands, in tiaras flames
Full o'er her front, and now to robes converts
Of Chian loose, or Alidonian mould:
While feasts, and festivals of boundless pomp,
And costliest viands, garlands, odours, wines,
And scatter'd roses ceaseless are renew'd.
But fruitless every act: some bitter still
Wells forth perpetual from his fount of bliss,
And poisons every flow'ret. Keen remorse
Goads him, perchance, for dissipated time,
And months on months destroy'd; or from the fair
Haply some phrase of doubtful import darts,

That, like a living coal, his heart corrodes:
Or oft her eyes wide wander, as he deems,
And seek some happier rival, while the smile
Of smother'd love half dimples o'er her cheeks.' II. 173–79.

These are among the best passages in Mr Good's translation. When he comes to the philosophical part, however, he makes sad work; and whether he affects to copy, in his harsh and prosaic English, the naked simplicity of the original, or to embellish it with a more lofty diction, he succeeds equally in producing a composition which we may fairly set down as illegible by students of any description. The fundamental proposition of Epicurus, for instance,

'That nought from nought by power divine has ris'n,'

has a portentous sound in his version. Nor does the sum of his discoveries appear much more attractive, when thus delivered,

'Hence taught he us triumphant, *what might spring*
And what forbear: what powers inherent lurk,
And where their bounds and issues.'

The reader, however, shall have a larger specimen.

'This prov'd what follows as a truth deriv'd,
But that the forms of seeds, though varying much,
Ne'er vary endless; not unfrequent, else,
Full many a seed must boast a bulk immense:
For many a differing figure ne'er can lurk
In things minute. Deem, then, primordial seeds
Three fancied parts comprise; or grant e'en more.—
Invert their order, let the right be left,
Depress the loftiest, the profound exalt,—
Soon will the pigmy mass exhaust complete
Its tiny change of figures; would'st thou, then,
Augment the variance, thou must add, perforce,
New primal matter, hence augmented sole.
Thus from fresh forms increase of size must flow
Perpetual; nor the seeds of things in shape
Can differ endless, or e'en once evince
A bulk immense, as erst the muse has provd.' I. 251—53.

Again,

'But some there are such doctrines who deny;
And urge in proof, deceptive, that the wave
Not through imagin'd pores admits the race
With glitt'ring scales—but yields at once, and opes
The liquid path; and occupies, in turn,
The space behind the aureate fish deserts.
Thus, too, that all things act: the spot possess'd
Exchanging sole, whilst each continues full.
Believe them not. If nought of space the wave
Give to its gilded tenants, how resolve,

Feel

Feel they the power t' advance? and if t' advance
They know not, how can, next, the wave thus yield?—
'Such feeble reas'ners, in opposing VOID,
A double VOID confess: for, first, perforce,
A void they own, where void was none before,
Betwixt the substance sever'd; and bring next
A proof surmountless that the air itself
Throng'd with a prior void: else how, to bounds
Of closer texture, could it e'er contract?' I. 75–79.

There are nearly three books of this light reading. The following passage we give in deference to Mr Good, who maintains that 'there is a beauty and precision in it that has seldom been equalled.'

'Who holds that nought is known, denies he knows
E'en this, thus owning that he nothing knows.
With such I ne'er could reason, who, with face
Retorted, treads the ground just trod before.
Yet grant e'en this he knows; since nought exists
Of truth in things, whence learns he what to know,
Or what not know? what things can give him first
The notion crude of what is false, or true?
What prove aught doubtful, or of doubt devoid?' II. 71–78.

The following account of the composition of the soul, too, is a favourite with the translator.

'Triple the substance, hence, the soul that builds;
Yet e'en the whole perception ne'er can form:
For nought in each subsists of power t' excite
Those sensile motions whence perception flows.
Hence some fourth substance, doubtless, must we deem,
Conjoint existing; which, though void of name,
Springs from minutest atoms, lightest most
And most attenuate; deep endow'd with power
Of fleetest speed, and hence, that first begets
Those sensile movements that the frame pervade.
This first begets, as form'd from subtlest seeds,
Next heat th' incipient action, vapour next
Partakes, and air posterior, till the soul
Rouses throughout: then flows the blood, then feels,' &c.
I. 413–415.

The following illustration is frequently repeated by Lucretius; though *he* speaks only of words and letters—not *types*, as Mr Good has been pleased to call them. As we do not by any means pretend to understand the passage, we are really at a loss to know whether the ingenious translator means printers' types, or symbols.

'Mark but these fluent numbers: many a type
To many a term is common; but the terms,
The numbers cull'd, as diff'ring these from those,

From different types evolve: not so diverse
That the same type recurs not through the whole;
Or that, recurring, it recurs alone
From types too bounded; but from types alike
Free to each term, yet ever new combin'd,
Flows the vast change, th' harmonious system flows.
Thus, through the world, the primal seeds of all,
To all things common, re-arrang'd diverse,
In myriad forms shoot forth; and herbs, and men,
And trees umbrageous own the same fixt source.' I. 285–7.

We must make an end of this now. We had noted several instances of false translation, and many of unaccountable obscurity; but our readers will easily judge of Mr Good's merits from what has already been laid before them. It is scarcely necessary to say that the ornamental epithets, which he has lent to his author in the didactic parts of his work, entitle him to no credit from his admirers. When Lucretius says *humor* or *piscis*, Mr Good should say *water* and *fish*; 'dimpling stream,' and 'chrystal lymph.' The 'race with glittering scales,'—'the gilded tenants of the wave,' and even 'the aureate fish,' are all childish impertinencies.

We have said nothing all this time of the notes, which occupy, we should conjecture, about two-thirds of the book; and indeed it is not easy to give either a specimen, or a description of the vast miscellaneous assemblage which they exhibit. The imitations and parallel passages are by far too long and too numerous; and the worst of them are generally praised as much as the best. A considerable knowledge of antiquity is displayed throughout, though frequently introduced in the most fantastical manner, and on the slightest pretences. Thus, having occasion to mention the sinks or public sewers of Rome, he is led to observe that their contents were employed by the fullers in scouring woollen cloth; and this introduces a most minute and learned dissertation upon all the branches of the fuller's craft; the manufacturing of *felts*; the method of 'raising the nap;' and the different processes employed for *glazing* linen cloth;—all which Mr Good sedulously pursues through six pages of double columns, while Lucretius is going on over his head with a poetical theory of dreaming. In the same way, Lucretius having glanced, in illustration of the power of the mind over the body, at the force the hand may acquire by machinery, Mr Good is irresistibly led to give his readers a copious account of the mechanical science and contrivances of the antients, with a long historical narrative of the siege of Syracuse, and the inventions of Archimedes; which issues, we cannot well

tell

tell how, in a discourse on encaustic painting, and a proposition to substitute it for copper-sheathing in our navy.

In another passage, Lucretius, having made an allusion to the beauty of Helen, and the war of Troy, his translator takes occasion to dissert thus learnedly in the notes.

'The effect of love is variously described, as well as accounted for, by the poets. Generally, however, the instrument supposed to be employed, is either a dart from the eye, producing a wound, as in v. 36. of the present book; or else a species of subtle and irresistible flame, eroding and consuming the bosom, as in the present passage. In the opening of Book IV. of the Æneid, Virgil introduces both these metaphors.

'Vulnus alit venis, et cæco carpitur igni.
She feeds her *wound, and pines with secret* fire.

'Petrarc follows our poet's latter image alone in the ensuing description.

'I che l'esca amorosa al petto avea
Qual maraviglia se di subito arsi?
What wonder, that I burn and smart,
Since love's keen torch inflames my heart?

'Solomon has beautifully and boldly introduced another system of imagery, the elegance, and indeed the meaning of which, has seldom been sufficiently explained. Under his creative powers, the fascinating fair becomes the surrounding wall of a fortified city; which was often erected with consummate skill, beautified with all the ornaments of architecture, and over different parts of which were projected towers or turrets for the purpose of repelling the assailing foe; in whose construction and finish the taste of the artist was principally exerted, and which were hence frequently denominated *towers of ivory* or *of silver*. The triumphant fair being thus generally resembled to the beautiful and ornamental wall of a defensive city—her white and swelling bosom is next compared to the white and swelling turrets projected from its surface—to those elegant, but dangerous prominences, which were equally formed for the purpose of attack or repulsion, and which no man, in either case, can approach without extreme peril. With this introductory explanation the passage I refer to is equally exquisite and obvious.

'Call her a wall—" and" two towers of silver
Will we *build upon her.*—
I myself am a wall,
And my bosom resembles two towers. Chap. viii. 9, 10.

'For a still further illustration, *the reader may consult my version and notes upon this elegant simile.—Sacred Idyls, p.* 59. *and* 206.' I. 87, 88.

These are but fair specimens of the excursive disposition of this commentator, and are taken without selection, *ad aperturam libri.* His medical and metaphysical lucubrations are still more copious and irregular.

Upon

Upon the whole, this book is very dull, and, as a translation, very flat and unpoetical: yet it is evidently the work of a man of no ordinary vigour or intelligence: it contains a very correct edition of Lucretius, with more information on the subject of his poem, than could be gathered from all his other commentators put together. The version is sometimes pleasing, and sometimes vigorous; and Mr Good's own speculations, though often intruded rather awkwardly, are by no means despicable. It is a book, in short, which nobody but a reviewer will ever read through: but which, we think, all scholars would like to possess; and which, if it were a little cheaper, we should recommend all but poor scholars to buy.

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